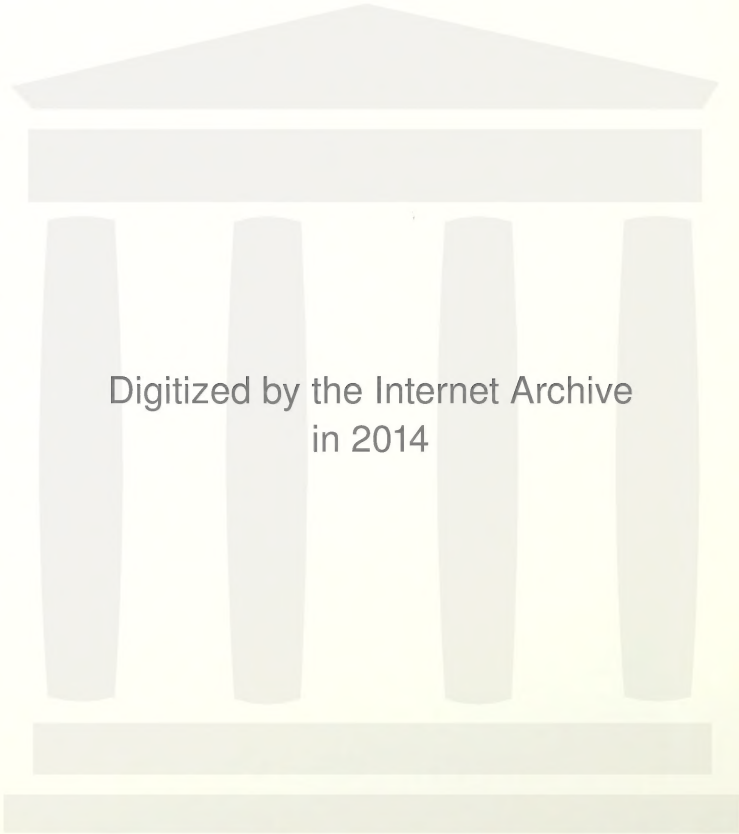
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CONTENTS:

	Page
Sources of Information	3
Reports of Meetings	7
The Inaugural Lecture By F. J. Bigger, Esq., M.R.I.A.	8
A Popular Antiquarian Society By R. V. Walker, Esq., B.A.	10
Historical Notes on Virginia and Lough Ramor By Philip O'Connell, Esq., M.Sc.	16
Exhibits at June Meeting	30
Illustration of Local Seals	32
The Legend of Conall Cernach By Miss M. E. Dobbs, F.R.S.A.I.	34
Cavan Members in the Irish Parliament I—Seventeenth Century. By T. S. Smyth, Esq.	37
Exhibits at the November Meeting	48
The Episcopal Succession in the Diocese of Kilmore, 1356—1560. By Dr Grattan Flood, K.S.G.	49
Books on Leitrim History	53
A Big Day in Belturbet	54
The Battle of Cavan	56
Cromwell in Cavan	58
Muff and its Fair	59
Kilgolagh	61
Tuaim Dreccuin	62
Ancient Crosses in Breifny	64
Notes on Histories of Families	65
Breifnian Articles	65
Two O'Reilly Tombs and a Problem	66
Book Review	70
Literary Notes	74
Obituary Notice	74
List of Members	75
Rules of the Society	78
Statement of Accounts, 1920	82

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SOURCES OF INFORMATION: SUGGESTIONS.

To a request addressed to a distinguished Irish Antiquary on the 'loci historici,' or "the sources whence information may be obtained on the Antiquities and History of Cavan and Leitrim," the following reply was received:—

The first, fullest, most important and authoritative "locus historicus" for a local antiquary to examine and study, is the two counties themselves. They are the conclusive document. The face of the country is an open page on which the men of old have written their story, the work of their hands forms the characters of the text. This venerable manuscript exists in a single exemplar. To read, preserve and perpetuate its story is the essential and urgent task of the local antiquary. Day by day it becomes less legible. Every shower of rain, every blast of wind, every frost, every leaf that grows on an ancient structure, every worm that wriggles through its soil, every beast that burrows in it or treads upon it is blurring the letters, and above all, man erases line after line and even tears out whole pages too often in wantonness or for some mean purpose. Accordingly the primary necessity is to get all that now exists recorded at once.

"Quod adest memento
Componere aequus",

collect without prepossessions whatever is to the fore. There is no other branch of archæological work that the man on the spot should take up before this, and there is none that he can do better.

The work should be done systematically, barony by barony, parish by parish, townland by townland. Every remnant of antiquity should be noted, measured, described and, if possible, photographed—the rude stone monuments, standing stones, dolmens, circles, alignments, oghams, everything inscribed or marked by the hand of ancient man, tumuli and graves with their contents carefully set down as they were found, finds of all kinds, weapons, implements, utensils, ornaments and coins (when, where and how discovered, with the fullest detailed description of the articles and their position); fortifications, crannogs and enclosures for residence or defence, their situation size and construction, with particulars of anything found at them; places of ancient assembly for religious or secular purposes, venerated trees and wells; and then medieval structures of all kinds. Obviously, the most effective way to carry out such a scheme is to distribute the work amongst a number of active persons, so many for each parish, and naturally residents

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in or close to the area allotted to them, who, provided with the townland sheets of the Ordnance Survey, would set down on each map the position of any antiquity not already shown, and then draw up for each map a brief report cataloguing descriptively all the antiquities shown upon it. Such a catalogue should not aim at historical accounts or explanations, which will be most fitly developed elsewhere; where the dates of medieval buildings are accurately known, they should be given. But there is need for caution here. When we read that St. Patrick built a church, say at Drumlease, we must not suppose when we find some remnants of ancient walls there that these are actually the remains of St. Patrick's original building. That is very unlikely; yet too many people let their enthusiasms carry them beyond all probabilities, and by one outburst bring all the rest of their work under suspicion.

I would not like at this stage to give a young society, or, as you have said, amateurs, any impulsion towards literary inquiries. Sound and useful work in that line cannot be done at a distance from large libraries and deposits of records, and a country writer will seldom be able to do more than make "cauld kail het again," i.e., rehandle what has been done already in more or less readily accessible publications.

There is, however, an important exception: there may be preserved in country houses valuable manuscripts and historical papers. Thus, the Molesworth correspondence, calendared for the Hist. MSS. Commission in 1913 is preserved in County Cavan, and the library at Lough Fea, in County Monaghan, contained a MS. description of part of County Cavan dating from the middle of the 17th century. It would be very proper for a county or diocesan society to inquire what materials of this kind exist within their borders, and to catalogue, calendar and publish such as deserve publication.

Nevertheless, after these two sources of information, which are more important than most others, you will still look for references to books. The only accounts of Leitrim and Cavan known to me are the "Statistical Surveys" of the Royal Dublin Society, published in 1802, that for Leitrim by Dr McParlan, the Cavan one by Sir Charles Coote. Their main object was to report on the state of agriculture, but they (especially that for Leitrim) have references to antiquities. That was the period when Druids and Chaldeans dominated Irish antiquities, and consequently the references are less valuable than they might have been. But they will show how negligible theorising is apt to be and make us realise how much more valuable a plain and accurate description would have been than all such fustian erudition. McParlan knew Irish, yet he allowed a humbug to persuade him that leaba did not mean a bed at all, but was a Chaldean word lehab meaning a flame, and if a flame, of course an altar; so that by Leaba Diarmada agus Grainne the country people did not, as they themselves supposed, mean "a bed of Diarmaid and Grainne," but an altar! A warning against sciolism.

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More authoritative documents will be
the Annals of Ulster,
Annals of Lough Cé
Annals of Clonmacnoise,
Annals of the Four Masters,
Chronicon Scotorum,
the Martyrology of Oengus and
Martyrology of Gorman (edited by Stokes for the Henry Bradshaw Society),
Martyrology of Tallaght (edited by Kelly),
Martyrology of Donegal.
Archdall's Monasticon*
The Monasticons of Alemand and Stevens.
Ware's Bishops.
Cotton's Fasti.
The Calendars of State Papers.
Ulster Inquisitions.
The Patent Rolls of James I.
Journal R.S.A.I., passim.
Ulster Journal of Archæology, passim.

All the foregoing are in print. The genealogies, however, which are important as correctives and illustrators of the annals are still in MS. MacFirbisigh's MS. is now in the possession of the Right Hon. M. F. Cox and a copy by O'Curry is in the R.I.A. Another valuable MS., Farrell's Lineae Antiquae, which comes further down than MacFirbisigh is in the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle.

The best-known of the MS. authorities are of course the Ordnance Survey papers—the Letters at the R.I.A., and the Fieldbooks at Mountjoy Barracks, in the Phoenix Park. As regards the letters there is a difference of opinion as to the expediency of publishing them as they are. O'Donovan does not always appear at his best in what he wrote to the O.S. office, and some people think it is not just to publish what he did not anticipate would ever emerge from official privacy. My idea has always been that in so far as documents are evidence and used as such, those to whose judgment they are submitted are entitled to the whole of them.

*In Card. Moran's edition the notes for County Cavan are of no value.

Other important MS. sources of local history are the documents in the Public Record Office. For the northern counties these are chiefly post-sixteenth century.

Amongst the T.C.D. manuscripts several might be worth printing, but naturally one cannot positively say so who has not examined them, e.g., "De terris Phil O'Reyly in Com. Cavan 4 Jas. I." is probably a copy of the inquisition calendared in the Ulster Inquisitions. The MS. of Pynnar's Survey is no doubt the same as has already been printed. "Glebelands in Kilmore diocese assigned Jas. I.," and the records of the "Visitationes Regales," 1615, 1633-4, would doubtless be useful; but the chief interest for your local history would possibly be in the collection of Massacre Depositions, which has not yet been carefully sifted, though more than once examined by persons with a strong inclination to one side or the other.

I should like to urge a young society to undertake no other investigation until it has catalogued and described sufficiently for its district:—

I. All the existing remains of antiquity.

II. All the historical documents, portraits and objects preserved in private houses (so far as it can be done.)

REPORTS OF MEETINGS.

PUBLIC MEETING.

On the 8th January, 1920, a public meeting, convened by circular, was held in the Courthouse, Cavan, to consider the advisability of establishing an Archæological Society for Counties Cavan and Leitrim and the Diocese of Kilmore. There was a large attendance, and many apologies for absence and promises of support.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That a local Society be formed to study the history and antiquities of Kilmore Diocese and of County Cavan and County Leitrim."

A temporary committee was appointed to draw up a code of rules. It was also left to this Committee both to arrange for an Inaugural Lecture and to call the next meeting; its business to be the discussion of the rules, the enrolment of members and the election of a committee and officers.

It was also proposed, seconded and passed unanimously, that their Lordships, Most Rev. Dr Finegan and Right Rev. Dr Moore be elected Patrons of the Society.

OPENING MEETING.

In accordance with the resolution above mentioned a meeting was held in Town Hall, Cavan, at 3 p.m. on 11th Mar., '20.

The rules were submitted, discussed and approved of. It was agreed that the Society be called the **Breffny Antiquarian Society.** A large number of members were enrolled. A Committee for the current year and officers, both of which are given elsewhere, were elected.

In the evening of the same day the Inaugural Lecture was delivered by Francis Joseph Bigger, Esq., M.R.I.A., Belfast, in the Assembly Room of the Town Hall. A synopsis of the lecture will be found in the Journal. There was a large attendance of both members and the general public.

1st Meeting for Reading of Papers.

The first meeting of the members of the Society for the reading of papers took place in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Friday evening, June 25th, 1920. A large number were present. The papers, which are published in the opening pages of the Journal, were read, and the exhibits, also described in the Journal, were shown.

2nd Meeting for Papers.

The Society met again for the same purpose on Monday, 8th November, 1920. There was a good attendance of members and their friends. Two papers were read; they appear in the Journal. A number of antiquarian objects and an interesting local recent find were exhibited. Mention is made of them in the Journal.

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE.

The Inaugural Lecture of the Breifne Antiquarian Society was delivered in the Town Hall of Cavan on the 11th March, 1920, by Francis Joseph Bigger, M.R.I.A., Vice-President of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Belfast.

The Lecturer chose as his subject the History and Antiquities of Breifne na Ruarc, illustrating his subject with an exhaustive series of lantern slides. One slide, in particular, the result of much labour and research, represented a map of the Ua Ruarc country with all the antiquities distinctly and differently denoted upon it—the stone monuments, the earthworks, abbeys, churches, crosses, crannoges, etc. It is hoped that this map may at some time be published in a large scale to assist other workers in additional research.

The Lecturer referred to the earthworks about Mohill which he described as the most considerable and, perhaps, the oldest in the district and the original stronghold of the Ua Ruarc. The castles in and around Dromahaire were illustrated and described, and special reference made to St. Patrick's love of that place which he often visited, expressing the hope that there might be his Primatial See. The Franciscan Friary of Creevelea on the Bonet River was described at length. It was founded in 1508 by Margaret O'Brien, wife of Eoghain Ua Ruarc, and daughter of the Prince of Thomond, who brought to it the Brown Friars from her own loved Friary at Ennis. The carved representation on a cloister column at Creevelea, of St. Francis communing with the birds, was enough to dispel all the statements of the ignorance and barbarity of the Irish at the time when Bingham was the English Governor of Connacht, libels so freely circulated from his day until the present time. The grandson of the founder of Creevelea was Brian na Murta, "the proudest man who walked upon the earth in his day." His story was feelingly told ending in his passage to the scaffold at Tyburn with the wily Miler Mac Grath whispering unctuous but unheeded talk into his dying ears. The proud man had given hospitality to famished shipwrecked Spaniards in his lordly halls at Dromahaire, an offence not to be overlooked by the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam. The Mac Clancie had defied and out-witted the Deputy at his island fortress of Rossclogher in Lough Melvin. Brian na Murta was succeeded by Brian of the Battle Axes who was out with Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell at the Battle of the Curlieu Mountains. The burning of Sligo Abbey by Hamilton "the Tamerlaine of the West," was read by the Lecturer from W. B. Yeats' weirdly thrilling account of that dark sanguinary episode. The churches of Killargue and Cluain Claire were also described, but a fuller account was given of the many remains at Feenagh and the relics of that famed seat of piety and learning, including

the shrine of St. Cailin made by an Ua Ruarc in the 14th century. There were prehistoric remains in abundance at Feenagh existing long prior to the present abbey with its yet perfect and glorious altar windows, its tombs of the stout Mac Ragnaill and the learned O'Duigenain, patrons and advisers to the Four Masters themselves. The Lecturer referred to the Ua Ruarc castles on the Northern shores of Lough Gill and trusted every effort would be made to preserve them, especially the remains of the much earlier little chapel beside Parke's Castle, and not far from the ancient bridge.

Some crannoges were described, including the one at Castle Fore in the O'Duigenan country, and others in the O'Raillaigh Breifne, especially Lough Oughter, famed for its association with the O'Sheridans, Bishop Bedell and Eoghain Ruadh O'Neill. Some anecdotes relating to Jerome O'Duigenan, the classical scholar and famed Harper of Breifne, were told, including his triumphant encounter with a celebrated Welsh Harper arranged by Colonel Jones, M.P. for Leitrim on the floor of the Irish House of Commons.

The Lecturer concluded his lengthened address with an urgent appeal to all the members of the newly-formed Society, as well as to the people of Breifne generally, to make a valiant effort to collect any fragment of history relating to their district; to know, understand and discuss every phase of the past life of the people, and to value and preserve every physical feature of that past, so that not a stone would be cast down or lost, but handed down as a precious heritage to those who would come after them, who in the coming years would surely value the results of the efforts of the Breifne Antiquarian Society.

A POPULAR ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

By R. V. Walker, B.A.

[Read 25th June, 1920.]

Barely six months have elapsed since the idea of an Antiquarian Society for Breifne was first mooted, yet we meet here to-night for our first work meeting, with our constitution framed and with a large and enthusiastic membership. That is a record upon which our officers and committee have good cause to congratulate themselves and, as one of the rank and file, I could well wish them a period of ease after the strenuous time they have spent in organisation. Richly though they have deserved it, however, they cannot yet claim a respite from their labours, for the very energy which they have expended in forcing our growth thrusts upon them, at an earlier stage than might otherwise have been necessary, the responsibility of selecting the path along which we are to tread. Sympathy with them in that responsibility it is which has caused me to turn for the subject of my paper in the direction which I have selected. I therefore purpose briefly to submit for the consideration of the Society some reflections upon the problem with which we are faced, and to suggest a method by which, in my estimation, we may most successfully attain the objects for which our Society has been founded.

To many it may seem that having framed our constitution on those of the older established Antiquarian Societies we should be courting disaster if we did not model our rule of conduct completely on theirs. Personally I could conceive of no course which would be more certain to destroy what chance there is of our Society succeeding. The success of our older Antiquarian Societies has been due more to the brilliancy of the work of their leading members—not in any case a large proportion of the whole—than to the enthusiasm or energy of the general body. In a Society composed, as ours is, of neophytes, it would be folly to hope that a few could be expected to continue to spend time and labour in research for the entertainment or education of others. Many local Antiquarian Societies, starting with hopes as high as ours, have endeavoured to do so and have failed, as we should fail.

It, therefore, seems to me that, unless from the very start we are assured, not merely of the interest but the active co-operation of all our members, that unless we endeavour to bring home to these members how simple and how interesting in itself is the method by which they can educate themselves so as to be in a position to give that co-operation, our Society can never hope to endure. My suggestion, briefly put, is that we should for the moment encourage our members to concentrate upon

what is loosely called "Field Work," and leaving to the taste of the individual whatever other directions he may choose for his research work, that we impress upon the average member that, however trivial and unimportant the results of his own local investigations may be, they all form the material upon which, in the course of time, our Society hopes to base its work.

There is one circumstance which leaves us freer than any of the other Antiquarian Societies to thus specialise on "field work." Hitherto Breifne has been practically "terra incognita" to the antiquarian, not merely because it has been overlooked, but because there was prevalent the absurd idea that it was a district where antiquities were negligible. "Breifne," says Sir John Davies in his visitation to Cavan, "has no objects of interest to any save the local antiquary." Coote, who should have known better, makes the same charge in almost identical words, and, in the middle of the last century, the Parliamentary Gazeteer has nothing to tell us of the antiquities of Cavan, because "there is nothing to tell." In point of fact, with regard to antiquarian research, we in Breifne are a century, if not centuries, behind the rest of the country. We are, therefore, practically pioneers. Our territory has yet to be charted, and this, the most important preliminary work which can fall to the lot of the antiquarian, work which has in other districts been completed long ago, has first to be performed before our Society can hope to undertake its work proper.

For this preliminary work we shall have to depend upon our average member. Can we persuade him that without any preliminary training, given, in fact, only a fair amount of good-will, he can successfully undertake this most interesting and important work? Can we bring home to him that in performing this work he is undertaking a course of self-education, which will inevitably make of him, if not an antiquarian, at least a useful member of any Antiquarian Society? If we can succeed in doing so, then the popularity and success of our society are assured.

As far as our potential working member is concerned his original equipment is simple: in addition to such desire to assist as we may reasonably credit him with, he need only have a note-book. Let him at first have no ambition more lofty than to note, on behalf of the Society, such objects of antiquarian interest as he finds in the small area—the smaller the better—which he proposes to deal with. Above all things, let him not imagine that he is going to make discoveries of great importance—that way lies disaster.

For convenience sake we will divide the possible operations which he may be called upon to perform into stages. There is first the *enumeration stage*. He will list all the objects of interest in his area—the forts, raths, cromlechs, and stone circles;

the ruined churches and old graveyards; the birth or dwelling places of celebrities; places of historic interest of any kind, and any local traditions concerning all or any of these which may linger. Local customs will not be overlooked: there may be, or may have been, local industries—even local methods of industry may suggest themselves to him as worth noting. The list may be extended almost indefinitely according to his point of view—indeed, if he works systematically he shall be surprised at what an extensive list he can make, even in a restricted area, of objects of genuine antiquarian interest which in his every-day life he has barely noticed. Once started on the path his interest is bound to grow, and he will be faced with his first discovery, the fact that hitherto he has lived in the midst of interesting things to whose existence he has given no thought. Let us suppose that his interest succeeds in carrying him no farther. Even so, he has done useful work: he has assisted in charting one fragment of the Society's territory, has done his share in what I have already described as our first and most important preliminary work.

We must, however, presume that the interest which has originally induced our member to join the Society and has caused him to do even so much on its behalf, will carry him further. He will, in the great majority of cases, I feel assured, proceed to the next stage that of *personal examination*. If he has a certain number of forts on his list he must have observed points of resemblance or contrast between them. Has he noted cromlechs or standing stones? Can he forbear wondering at their origin, or conjecturing how such masses of stone were placed in position? Will not his local patriotism induce him to endeavour to draw comparisons between them and similar monuments found elsewhere? Is there in his neighbourhood an old castle, or a ruined church, or an ancient graveyard? Will his curiosity allow him to stop at mere enumeration? Surely, he will be impelled to examine them more closely, to find room in his notebook for some descriptive details. He will by now have added a tape-measure to his equipment. The forts and tromlechs and standing stones will be measured and their dimensions noted. He will embellish his descriptions with photographs or sketches, and the contents of his notebook will be of the greatest assistance to the Society. What an interesting and informative collection we could put together in such a way and how little preliminary training on the part of our members would be required to enable us to do so.

Our aspirant's curiosity ought by now to be well aroused, and he may perhaps be tempted to satisfy it by applying to books. He would be well advised to defer doing so: there is yet another stage in his self-education through which he should pass if he ever hopes to rely on his own judgment. He ought to make

himself master of the area he has selected for himself, by noting all that he can discover about it in the way of local tradition before he allows his opinions to be coloured by what others have written of it. This is the most interesting stage of all—and the most difficult. The value to be attached to tradition varies enormously. Sometimes it comes down to us almost intact. Sometimes fact and fiction seem hopelessly confused: sometimes whatever kernel of truth it may have had originally has been lost in its passage down the ages. Still, in whatever form one obtains it, one is never safe in disregarding it, never secure in deciding what should go down in the notebook and what not. One's notebook may grow obese with matter which subsequent examination will prove to be valueless. Yet the labour of sifting the grain from the chaff is not without an educational value of its own, and one finds not infrequently that it is not the story which at first blush seemed the most extravagant that is the farthest from the truth.

The chief essential in noting tradition is to let the narrator tell his own tale in his own way: never to lead him and never, even when he wanders from the point, to try and put him right. Strange to say, this was a part of their craft which some of our really great archaeologists never fully mastered—partly because they never brought themselves down to their narrator's intellectual level, and partly because they were rarely without a preconceived theory of their own upon the matter upon which they sought information and, consciously or not, either led the narrator, or gave his narrative a turn in the direction in which they wished it to flow. That is probably a fault from which our beginner will not suffer. He will be a genuine seeker after knowledge, and will, therefore, be the more likely to get the natural tradition and, by exercising a little judgment, will ere long begin to reap the reward of his trouble. Incidentally, he will be led into fresh fields of enquiry, will get glimpses at the life and customs of the last century, will be familiarised with the intricacies of county pedigrees and with the history of county families or local celebrities. Of course, as I have said, the value of the matter one gets varies considerably and one gets many disappointments. Still, there is no district in which one cannot garner some tradition which, however ill it suits the purpose of one's enquiry at the moment, cannot fail to serve as a footnote in subsequent enquiry either to oneself or to someone else.

If our aspirant has succeeded in passing through the stages I have described—and I have merely been endeavouring to trace the path by which many have been drawn insensibly to take an interest in old half-forgotten, wholly neglected, things—I think we may write him down as having completed his apprenticeship. How far he shall proceed further in the pursuit of antiquarian knowledge, and in what direction he shall proceed, will depend

entirely upon the amount of leisure time at his disposal and the bent of his own inclination. Even should he desire to seek no further knowledge of his own district, or of the larger area which our Society proposes to embrace, than that which he has secured by his own personal observation and from the tradition of his neighbourhood, still he will have become in the process of his self-education a useful member of our Society.

In theory there is no reason why everyone of the many who have joined our Society should not be able to bring himself to such a stage of proficiency as I have described. In practice we should have reached a far higher degree of efficiency than any similar local Antiquarian Society if we could ensure that even half our nominal members would so far interest themselves in our work as to supply us with a list of the antiquities in their neighbourhood. I am sufficiently sanguine as to the success of the evolutionary process I have described to feel assured that if we could get that many to take the first step we might reasonably expect that the majority of them would go further.

In our attempt to secure the co-operation of our members in such a scheme of work we should endeavour not to place a fresh responsibility upon our already heavily burdened committee. Why should those of us who are here to-night not take the matter in hand? Can we not each map out a district for ourselves and set ourselves to compiling a classified list of such antiquities as it contains? Can we not also endeavour to use our influence with the others who are not with us, those especially whom some of us may have brought into the Society? Can we not invite *them* to stake out their little allotments and to commence their lists? In this way we should speedily be able to determine what parts of our territory were being attended to and in what parts it would be necessary to make special efforts to secure workers.

We should not have long to wait for results. Our aspirant members would soon be emerging from the first stage and the centralised work of our Society, the work for which our registrar and editorial committee are panting, would soon commence. We should be supplied with material which could place the success of our Journal beyond doubt. We should proceed upon our annual excursion secure in the knowledge that we should have local guides to lead us and local tradition to inform. The recruitment of our members would become automatic. In a word we should have a Society which would be as we all would have it, if wishing alone could produce the result.

As a stimulus to the little extra energy necessary to bring such a result about one consideration alone should have paramount weight. We have taken upon ourselves work which in the estimation of everybody is praiseworthy work, work which should have been undertaken long ago, work which makes such immediate appeal to everyone in historic Breifne that its success—that success to which we have pledged ourselves—ought to be certain. But we *may* fail—unthinkable though such a consummation may be, yet it may be ours. If such be our fate there will be plenty to point out to us to what extent our organisation has been responsible for our failure. Let us forestall that humiliation, at least, by ensuring that, should circumstances prove too much for us, those of us who have pledged our loyalty to the Society will have done our share in the effort to procure its success.

R. V. WALKER.

HISTORICAL NOTES OF VIRGINIA AND LOUGH RAMOR.

By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

[Read 25th June, 1920.]

While the present town of Virginia, neatly situated on the wooded shores of beautiful Lough Ramor, does not possess any features of historical interest before the beginning of the seventeenth century since its foundation, as we shall see presently, was consequent to the Plantation of Ulster in the earlier years of the reign of James the First of England, yet Lough Ramor itself and its immediate neighbourhood, from the many references in the older Annals and Manuscripts, seems to have been of great historical importance from the earliest times. The large number of moats and earthen raths which still remain are evidences both of the military importance and populous condition of the locality in very early times. In the present paper we will collect and examine such references as will explain the history and topography of this interesting district.

The original and older name of Lough Ramor, as given by the Annals of the Four Masters and by the Annals of Ulster, is Loch Muinreamhair. The earliest reference to Loch Muinreamhair is contained in the Annals of the Four Masters (edited by O'Donovan) under the year 2859 Anno Mundi. "These were the lakes that sprang forth—Loch Dairbhreach, Loch Muinreamhair in Luighne in Sliabh Guaire." Loch Dairbhreach is now Lough Deravarragh in Westmeath. The springing forth of these lakes, as well as of many others mentioned in the Annals, are events which can only furnish material for scientific speculation, but which may have been due to some atmospheric or seismological phenomena of that remote period.

The record is interesting as it indicates that the district of Loch Muinreamhair was included in the ancient districts of Sliabh Guaire and Luighne. The hilly district to the North of Virginia is mentioned in some of our oldest records as Sliabh Guaire. The Leabhar na gCeart (or Book of Rights, published by the Celtic Society, p. 188), which deals with the rights and revenues of the Irish provincial Kings refers to a river called the Finnabhainn (i.e., White River). It was a tributary of the Boyne and rose in Sliabh Guaire. This river, now the Blackwater, is considered in the references made to it to have its origin not in Loch Muinreamhair but in the hilly district north of it. The small river which rises in the district of Bailieboro' and flows through Virginia may have been originally considered as part of the river which had its source in Sliabh Guaire; and the name Finnabhainn was apparently given to both rivers, which were considered as one waterway flowing through Loch Muinreamhair in the same way as the Bann flows through Lough Neagh* This river, Finnabhainn, was called the Sele at the time of St. Patrick, and under this name is mentioned by the Four Masters. It is said that Patrick cursed the Sele on account of an insult offered him by the sons of King Laeghaire at Tailten (now Telltown), and that the waters turned black; hence the name Blackwater. The following passage from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, chap iv. p. 129) records the circumstances:—

> On the first day of the week Patrick came to Tailten where the royal assembly and public games of the Kingdom, in addition to contests, were accustomed to be held yearly. There he met Cairbre, son of Niall, brother of King Laoghaire who equalled his brother in fierceness of soul and obstinacy to believe. This man of adamantine heart to whom St. Patrick preached the word of life and showed the way of salavation, not only refused to believe in the truth of his preaching, but threatened the man who was showing him the way of life with death. Besides, he scourged the disciples of the Saint in the river near by called the Sele because Patrick called him an enemy of God. In a note Colgan adds:—"The river called the Sele is today called Abha-dhubh which means black river."

This important passage serves to fix the situation of Tailten and also the date of the arrival of St. Patrick there; the original has "prima feria" which is translated "the first day of the week, i.e., Easter Monday." After the time of St. Patrick the river is given by the manuscripts as the Abha-dhubh or black river; the *fluvius niger* of Colgan.

The ancient district of Luighne or Luguni extended—as is evident from many manuscript references—over a large portion of Meath and portion of the present County of Cavan. In the opinion of the learned topographer, O'Donovan, the district of Luighne included Navan and Lough Ramor; the name still survives in the Barony of Lune in Meath. In 1898 an interesting discovery was made in the Churchyard of Kieran, near Ceannanus Mor. An Ogham stone, illustrating the system of epigraphy used in Ireland before the introduction of the Roman system, was unearthed. This was afterwards examined and deciphered by the late Professor Rhys (Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. xxix, p. 426.) The inscription on the Kieran Ogham according to Professor Rhys is: "Covagni Maqui Mucoi Luguni," which may be translated: "The stone of Cuan son of the kin (or tribe) of Luguni." The name Cuan or Covagni occurs frequently in the pedigrees in the Book of Leinster. The location of the Ogham at Kieran, the first of its kind discovered in Meath, is an indication that the district of Luguni extended over that part of Meath and was very extensive since it included Lough Ramor. The exact boundaries of Sliabh Guaire have not yet been accurately defined, but it included

* See note on Sliabh Guaire.

a large portion of Southern Cavan* Before the Principality of Breffni O'Reilly was formed into the present County of Cavan by Sir John Perrott in 1584 and added to Ulster, Lough Ramor and the Blackwater formed the eastern boundary of Connacht to which Breffni belonged.

The Annals of the Four Masters under the year 845 A.D. have the following record of the extermination of a party of marauders who had their stronghold on an island in Lough Ramor and who, in alliance with the Norsemen, were engaged in plundering the surrounding districts:—

The demolition of the island of Loch Muinreamhair by Maelseachlainn son of Maelruainaidh against a great crowd of the sons of death (i.e., malefactors) of the Luguni and Gailenga who were plundering the district at the instigation of the foreigners and they were destroyed by him.

The same event is recorded in the Annals of Ulster (Vol I., Edited by W. M. Hennessy) under the year 846 A.D. as follows:

Maelsechnaill son of Maelruanaidh begins to reign. The demolition of the island of Loch Muinreamhair by Maelsechnaill, against a great band of the "sons of death" of the Luighne and Gailenga, who were plundering the districts after the manner of the Gentiles.

(Note by Hennessy:—Gailenga—Otherwise Gailengamora. Now known as the Barony of Morgallion, in the north of the County of Meath.)

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* Sliabh Guaire or Gorey is located by O'Donovan in Clankee Barony, but recent examination of the place-names of the ancient district, from the Inquisition defining its boundaries quoted by O'Donovan, shows that a considerable part of it is in Tullygarvey and portions in Castlerahan and Upper Loughtee. The Down Survey Map (1654) of Castlerahan has "Slewgole" where the townlands of Gola and Greaghadossan are marked on the modern Ordnance Survey Maps. Slewgole is another form of Sliabh Guaire.

The Annals of Loch Ce under the year 1054 record:—Loch-Suidhe Odhrain in Sliabh Guaire stole away in the end of the night of the festival of Michael and went into Fabhall, quod non auditum ab est antiquis. The Annals of Ulster in the same year have an almost similar record.

The Lake of Suidhe Odhrain in Sliabh Guaire stole away in the end of the night of the feast of Michael and went into the Fabhall, a thing that has not been heard of from ancient times.

The Annals of the Four Masters have the same record; also the Chronicum Scotorum.

The name Suidhe Odhrain is now represented by that of the townland of Secoran in the Parish of Knockbride and Barony of Clankee. O'Donovan thought that the Fabhall is a stream "which discharges itself into the Boyne." The river which flows past the present town of Virginia and which was, as we have seen, originally considered as part of the Finnabhainn, or present Blackwater, having its origin in Sliabh Guaire, seems very probably the Fabhall of the Annalists. The district through which the river is recorded as passing provides evidence in support of this view. As O'Donovan observes, the name appears to be preserved in the form *Tonyfoyle*, a townland at Killinkere.

There is only a difference of one year in the records of this event as given by the Annals of the Four Masters (845) and by the Annals of Ulster (846.) Many similar records of marauders who established themselves on islands in various lakes are mentioned by our Annalists. Maelseachlainn or Maelsechnaill, who is mentioned in the foregoing extracts, was Malachy the Great, King of Meath. He was then engaged in a series of attacks on the Norse or Danish settlements. The Annals of Ulster record, under the year 844 A.D., the defeat and capture of the Danish tyrant Turgesius by Maelsechnaill and his subsequent drowning in Lough Owel near Mullingar. The Annals of the Four Masters and the Chronicon Scotorum have the same entry. (See Rev. Paul Walsh "Placenames of Westmeath," p. 77 for O'Donovan's Account.) After the drowning of Turgesius a general onslaught was made on the Norse settlements; and the extermination of the "sons of death," who appear to have been Irish outlaws and rebels allied with the Norsemen, in opposition to their own monarch Malachy, was one of the blows struck at Danish influence by Malachy the Great. As these hardy seafarers usually followed the river courses in their incursions it was possible for the Norsemen to have reached Lough Ramor through the river Blackwater.

These references show that the value of the islands in Lough Ramor as places of security was recognised at an early period. In latter times two at least of the larger islands were used as places of residence as we shall see presently.

We have seen that the older name of Lough Ramor, as given by the Annalists, is Loch Muinreamhair. This name, it would seem, could be explained from the configuration of the lake; *muin* signifying a neck and *reamhair* meaning thick. But since the name Muinreamhair was frequently given to semi-mythical warriors in pre-Celtic Ireland—for instance, Muinreamhair is mentioned as the name of a Fomorian Chieftain in the legends of pre-Milesian times—we must concede that the lake very probably takes its name from some of these legendary heroes. Many Irish rivers and lakes are named after mythological heroes or deities of whose history all is vanished except the topographical records of their names.

The townland of Ballaghanea, which stretches along the northern shore of Lough Ramor, is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters. They record under the year 572 A.D.

The fifth year of Aedh. The battle of Doete which is called Bealach-fheadha by Aedh son of Ainmire against the men of Meath where fell Colman Beg son of Diarmaid.

This place, correctly anglicised Ballaghanea, is also mentioned in the O'Reilly Pedigree* "Conor Mor O'Reilly, he who erect-

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*MSS. H. I. 15., T.C.D.

ed the Castle of Mullagh, had a son Conor Oge of Beal-atha-an-Fheadha"; and again "Gilla-iosa son of Glasney died at bealach-an-fheadha." (O'Reilly Pedigree quoted by O'Donovan "Ordnance Survey Letters," Cavan, unpublished MSS., p. 65.) The name Bealach-an-fheadha signifies the road or pass of the wood and was equated by O'Donovan with the district mentioned by the Four Masters, and given also in the O'Reilly Pedigree. It may be noted that a small hillock in the locality is still called Croc Fola (Knock Fola) or the hill of blood. Although local legend attributes the origin of the name to a fight between rival sections of a party of robbers, who had plundered some Friars who were, according to the tradition, living on one of the islands in Lough Ramor, we may possess in the name a trace of the battle recorded by the Four Masters in A.D. 572, or, perhaps, of the attack made by Maelseachlainn on the island when, as already mentioned, the marauders were exterminated in the ninth century. The Annals of Ulster record, under the year 592 A.D., "the battle of Bealach Dhaite in which fell Colman Bec, son of Diarmait." As we have seen, the Four Masters record the battle as having been fought in 572, so that the notices differ somewhat in date. The townland of Ballaghanea contains an interesting stone circle or cromleac consisting of four upright pillar stones the tallest of which is about eight feet in height. The capping stone has been displaced and now lies alongside. The "Great Island" in Lough Ramor is included in the same townland.

The Barony of Castlerahan, which includes the present district of Virginia and the southern portion of Co. Cavan, formed part of the ancient principality of Breffni O'Reilly. In the tenth century Breffni was divided into two principalities, viz., Breffni O'Reilly, or East Breffni, and Breffni O'Rourke or West Breffni. As we have already stated, the principality of Breffni O'Reilly was formed into the present County of Cavan in 1584, by Sir John Perrott, who was Elizabeth's Lord Deputy in Ireland, and added to Ulster in order to facilitate the scheme of Plantation which was rapidly to follow.* The names of the Chieftains who, under the Gaelic Clan system, held sway over their respective districts still linger in some of the place-names which have remained. The Clan O'Reilly had several Chieftains named Cuconnacht. One of them has given his name to Munter*connacht*, adjoining Lough Ramor. This

*The Earl of Sussex had already contemplated this. In a Report to Queen Elizabeth, dated 1562, he places "O'Rwrerke's" country in Connaught. "O'Raili's country is taken to be within Connaught, but because it lieth fitter for another government, and bordereth upon the English Pale, I leave it out of the government of Connaught." (Carew Cal. i. 330.—Quoted in Falkiner's "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography," p. 120.)

comes from Muintir-Cuconnacht, i.e., the family or tribe of Cuconnacht. We read in the Annals of Loch Cé under the year 1255:—

> Brian O'Neill and the men of the North of Ireland came in a great hosting against Cathal O'Raighilligh and Cuconnacht Raighilligh.

The O'Reilly Pedigree (quoted by O'Donovan "Ordnance Survey Letters"—Cavan, p. 54) has the following reference to this district:—

> The district of Uachtar-tire or the south-east district of Breffney now called Loch Ramhor or the Barony of Castle-Raheen was the patrimony of Felim, the son of Shane O'Reilly.

The O'Reillys maintained their independence down to the reign of James the First of England when their lands were finally confiscated.

In the year 1586 Queen Elizabeth made a grant to Gerald Fleming of certain monastery lands in Cavan, among them being "The rectories, churches or chapels of Killine (Killan), Knockbride, Castlerahin, Templeport and Crodragh." He had a re-grant of these lands from King James in 1609 "as a token of favour." The State Papers of 1606 (calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1606, p. 60) record the "Crown lands and tithes now on lease from the King of Ireland." The portions in the County of Cavan assigned to Sir Garrett Moore included many names in the southern district of the county, among them being Killenekyre, Lorgan, Castlerahan, Mounteyconnoght, Moybolgy, Fayntavin, Clone-kraghvoy (now Clonkeiffy); also "Aghaleere in the Barony of Castlerahan part of the lands of Brian M'Philip O'Reilly attainted." From the evidence afforded by the Plantation Map and contemporary documents we shall see that Aghaleere was the original name of the townland in which Virginia is now situated.

The foundation of the present town of Virginia dates from the Plantation of Ulster in the reign of James the First. After the Flight of the Earls preparations were made for the confiscation of the lands held by the Irish Chieftains and a general survey of Ulster was commenced. In a general survey of the confiscated lands carried out in 1610 by Sir John Davys, the English Attorney-General in Ireland, we find the following Precincts or Baronies in Cavan set apart for servitors and "Irish natives," "Tullaghah (now Tullyhaw), Clonmahon, Tullaghgarvey, and Castlerahan." The servitors were so named on account of the service which they rendered in the armies of Elizabeth and James, and many of them consented to become undertakers on being recommended as suitable by the Plantation Council in London. The servitors who obtained the Barony of Castlerahan were:—Sir John Elliott, Knight; John Ridgeway, Esq; Sir

William Taaffe, Knight; Roger Garth, Sir Edmund Fettiplace, Knight.

Sir John Davys, in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury dated 1610 (State Papers, Ireland, 1610) describes that at that time in the County of Cavan:—

There remained 50 polls or 1250 acres of which 30 polls or 750 acres were to be allowed to three corporate towns or boroughs which the King ordered should be endowed with reasonable liberties, and should send burgesses to Parliament, and should hold their lands as aforesaid, viz:—10 polls or 250 acres to the town of Cavan; so much more to Belturbet; and so much more to a third town which was to be erected in or near mid-way between Kells and Cavan, the place or seat thereof to be chosen by the Commissioners who were appointed for the setting of this Plantation. Ten other polls or 250 acres were to be laid to the Castle of Cavan; 6 other polls to the Castle of Cloughoughter, and the 14 other polls or 350 acres to the maintenance of a free school to be erected in Cavan. The natives who were not freeholders were to be placed within the county or removed by order of the Commissioners.*

This statement shows the allocation of 250 acres for the erection of a new town between Kells and Cavan on a site to be chosen by the Plantation Commissioners. The building of a town was a necessary step in securing the success of the Plantation. Moreover, it was made obligatory by the following which was one of the General Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers by order of the Plantation Council:—

That in every of the said Counties there shall be a convenient Number of *Market Towns* and *Corporations* erected for the Habitation and settling of Tradesmen and Artificers; and that there shall be one *free-school*, at least appointed in every County for the Education of Youth in learning and Religion.†

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*This extract may also be seen in Harris' Hibernica, p. 118. King James the First's "Project for the Division and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in six several Counties of Ulster," including Cavan, is given in full, just as it emanated from His Majesty. Besides such immaterial points as the spelling of a few words, the more plentiful employment of capital letters, the use of such an archaic phrase as that the third town is to be erected "in or near the Midway between **Kells** and the Cavan" etc., the actual "Project" differs from the paragraph given in "the text in two not unimportant particulars—(1) Its first line reads:—There remains sixty *Polls*, or fifteen hundred acres, etc." Not 50 and 1250. (2) Its last sentence is:—"Touching the Natives, who are not to be made Freeholders, they are to be placed within the County, or removed by Order of the Commissioners, as they be in Tyrone." This sentence as it lies is ambiguous: one cannot here base the meaning on the punctuation. But as subsequently some of the "natives" were actually made freeholders it is seen that the relative pronoun was understood to be used, as grammarians say, "restrictively." Sir Charles Coote has the same paragraph. He follows Harris, but his last sentence is exactly as in the text above. (Vide Coote's "Statistical Survey of the County of Cavan." Introd. pp. xxxi and xxxii.)

†Harris' Hibernica, p. 130.

In a list of grants to the "Irish natives" in the Barony of Castlerahan in 1611 (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1611, p. 213) we find that, after the individual grants are specified, the following extra grant is recorded:—"Extra: town at Ballaghaney, 250 acres; Glebes, 540 acres." This would indicate that the original intention was to found the new town in the townland of Ballaghanea where the first servitors resided; though it is quite possible that the district of Ballaghanea here mentioned covered a larger area than the present townland.

Captain John Ridgeway was the first Undertaker who was given this division of the Barony of Castlerahan. It was subject to the condition that he would proceed with the erection of the proposed town. The grant is described as follows in Pynnar's "Survey of Ulster," 1618. (State Papers, Ireland, 1618—Carew MSS., vol. 643, p. 93; Stearne MSS., Trin. Coll., Dublin, F. I. 19.)

Loch Rammor, alias the Manor of Chichester (1000 acres):—Captain Ridgeway was the first patentee. Captain Culme then held these lands and a house 14 feet high around which there was a bawne of lime and stone 180 feet square. This bawne stood on a passage and was able to do good service. Captain Culme had conditioned to build a town called Virginia for which he was allowed 250 acres; at that time eight timber houses were built, with English tenants, and there was a minister who kept a good school.

The grant described by Sir John Davys in 1610 provides for the allocation of 250 acres for the site of the new town to which no name was then ascribed. The State Papers of 1611 call it "the proposed town at Ballaghaney." When Captain Ridgeway received the grant in 1610 it is called "Loch Rammor" which seems to have been the name applied generally to the district. Captain Culme obtained the grant of 250 acres on condition that he erected the proposed town and in the period 1611 to 1618 had created a town of eight timber houses which is called Virginia in the State Papers of 1618. The slow progress of the work must be ascribed to the inactivity of the grantee who only did enough to barely fulfil his contract. The name Virginia was applied to the new town by Captain Culme and, as we have seen, is first mentioned in 1618: so this may be accepted as the year in which the town received its present name.

The foundation is thus described by Coote's "Statistical Survey of the County of Cavan," (Introd. p. xxxiii):—

The intended town between Cavan and Kells was not made a borough, but it doubtless means Virginia, and Captain Culme who held the possession of the grant by assignment from Captain Ridgeway, the original patentee, had conditioned to build this town, for which he was allowed ten polls, or 250 acres, and which his descendants or assigns have since enjoyed; at that time but eight houses were built, and were all of timber; but it does not appear that it was ever made a borough town.

In the terms of the Plantation it was stated that each Undertaker should have performed at the end of a specified time the tasks allotted to him. A report of the progress made by them in the Barony of Castlerahan in 1611 (Calendar of State Papers Ireland, 1611, p. 130), and signed by some of the leading Undertakers in Cavan says:—

Sir William Taaffe, Knight (Mulloch, 1000 acres) as servitor in the Barony of Castlerahan, has taken possession but done nothing. Captain John Ridgeway (Loch Rammor, 1000 acres): 120 great oaks have been brought from Fermanagh, 30 miles away, and more ready framed, being 280 garren (i.e., horse) loads from Bealturbert. He has made a watercourse for a mill in a stony and rocky ground which cost him 25 pounds as he says. He has agreed for 500 barrels of lime in Meath to be brought him upon demand. He has removed five Irish houses near his castle and built two other Irish houses in the Great Island. He has an English millright, smith, and farrier with their wives and families and necessary tools, and an English and Irish house carpenter with their wives and families, with two or three other families of several trades, and has contracted at Bealturbert for a boat for use at Lough Rawre (Lough Ramor.)

The servitors being charged with backwardness in having done so little answered for the most part that they had not taken out their patents until the end of Candlemas Term last and that as the British still retain natives (who ought to be servitors' tenants) they are unable to put things forward as otherwise they would; but they will go roundly in hand with their works this next spring as they have promised.

The site of the Castle where Culme lived can still be seen. It is in the townland of Ballaghanea on the shore of Lough Ramor adjoining the Great Island. The walls of the Castle were standing within living memory, and the measurements of the existing foundations correspond with the readings given by Pynnar. The passage between the Castle and the Great Island is comparatively narrow and shallow, and could easily be crossed in case of attack; hence the erection of the Castle alongside this passage. The foundations of the houses on the Great Island (sometimes called Ballaghanea Island) are still visible. The "Bawne" or cattle-fortress, which every Undertaker was required to build within two years around his Castle, was intended as a means towards security of property and also for personal protection.

Captain Hugh Culme is mentioned in 1617 (State Papers, Ireland, vol. 234, p. 10) as "Provost-marshal of the counties Cavan and Monaghan"; again in 1623 (idem. vol 237, p. 53) we read a letter from him to the Lord Deputy in which he makes bold to acquaint his Lordship with the affairs and the condition of those parts wherein he lived, and requesting that certain "illegal assemblies" may be suppressed. In 1623 Culme is also mentioned as one of the "Commissioners of the Six Escheated Counties of Ulster."

The proximity of the district of Virginia to Meath border rendered it open to easy attack from the garrison of the Pale.

Sir Henry Tichborne, who was one of the Commonwealth Commanders in Ireland, describes how he found one of the islands in Lough Ramor being used as a refuge in 1643:—

That night we went eight miles into the County of Cavan and saw many rebels, but they knew their distance; yet at Lough Ramor, on an island, we lighted on the Earl of Fingall's two children, thirty cases of new pistols with other goods that could not suddenly be taken away when he fled from thence.

The Revolution of 1641 made itself felt in the County Cavan where the O'Reilly Clan figures largely in the events of that fateful year. The condition of the district of Virginia is described by Revd. George Creighton,* a Protestant clergyman, who was "Vicar of Moybolge and Curate of Lurgan," and who was living in Virginia in 1641. In a Deposition concerning the Revolution he states (Appendix to "Aphorismical Discovery, edited by J. T. Gilbert; Cavan Depositions, Library of T.C.D., vol. ii):—

As soon as the English came abroad and had Dundalk and Trim all the inhabitants of Dublin, Meath, and Louth fled with all their goods into Cavan. Day and night there came through Virginia great droves of cattle and great carts laden with trunks and household stuff (sic), also great stores of wheat and malt. The refugees filled all the houses in Virginia. . . . . Every Thursday they had a market as great, and methinks greater, than ever was at Navan.

This statement indicates that Virginia was in a prosperous condition in 1641, and had increased in size since 1618. This may be explained in the light of the Deposition of another Cavan clergyman, Rev. Henry Jones, D.D.,† of proceedings in Cavan from October, 23rd, 1641, to June 15th, 1642. (Appendix to "Aphorismical Discovery"; Cavan Depositions, Library of T.C.D., vol ii.)

The County of Cavan at this time was the receptacle of all the rebellious lords, gentlemen and adherents who have been forced out of the Counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, Monaghan, and Fermanagh, where our armies have, by God's power, victoriously marched.

Virginia must have been rather an unenviable place of residence during this troubled period if we might judge from the Deposition of Revd. Faithful Teate,‡ Vicar of Ballyhaise (Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Series vi, vol. x, p. 39)

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* Revd. George Creighton was appointed to this Incumbency in 1619. He was a first cousin of Abraham Creighton, the ancestor of the Earls of Erne.

† In the Thorpe Collection of 17th and 18th century pamphlets, preserved in the National Library, Dublin, there is in Vol. II. a pamphlet by this clergyman on the Rebellion in Cavan. It was published in 1642.

‡ Grandfather of Nahum Tate, Poet Loureate from 1692 till 1715. (Vide Journal R.S.A.I., June, 1920, p. 39, etc.)

"that about the 23rd of October 'fearing of a rebellion and seeing them begin to rise' he had put a large sum of money in his pocket and set out for Dublin, partly with the intention of saving himself, and partly to give information to the Government of what was about to occur. He travelled in the company of Mr Aldrich, High Sheriff of County Monaghan, and the latter's nephew, but on the journey between Virginia and Lough Ramor he was attacked by a gang of ruffians, illused, knocked down, and robbed of all his money."

In the Depositions of Revd. George Creighton, in connection with an Inquiry into the Revolution of 1641, we find an interesting statement regarding the original Irish name of Virginia. He states it was *Aghanure*. As the State Papers, which I have already quoted, mention *Aghaleere* we will examine the evidences upon which these names are based. The Deposition of Rev. George Creighton, dated 1642 (Hickson, "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Irish Massacres of 1641-2" vol ii, p. 388; Cavan Depositions, Library of T.C.D. vol. ii) has the following:—

> This deponent further deposeth that he and others in his company heard from divers persons bitter words cast about Dublin, viz., that they would burn and ruin it, destroy all records and manuscripts of the English Government; they spoke of laws to be made that the English tongue should not be spoken but this deponent remembereth not whether that law should take place throughout Ireland or Ulster only, and that all names given to land or places by the English should be abolished and the ancient names restored. And that the Earl of Fingal demanded of this deponent what was the ancient name of Virginia who replied that as this deponent could remember, Aghanure whereupon the said Earl said that must be the name thereof again.

This appears to be the only manuscript evidence in favour of Aghanure, and it is not supported by contemporary State Papers. The Plantation Map of 1609 has marked *Aghater* as the name of the townland in which the present town of Virginia is situated, and which is bounded on the south-east by the river flowing past the present town into Lough Ramor, and on the north-west by the small river at Dunancory; Lough Ramor forms the south-western boundary. The Fiants of Elizabeth under the year 1586 have "M'Symon of *Aghelerre*" and also in the same year "M'Symon of *Carigagh*"; the Plantation map has Carigagh marked adjoining Aghater, so that it is evident that the *Aghelerre* of the Fiants of 1586 is the Aghater of the Plantation Map. Among the many references in the Fiants of the same year to places in the immediate neighbourhood we find "M'Symon of Mormade"; "M'Symon of Monterconnaghte." (Note—The term Fiant which is derived from the first word of *Fiant literae patentes*—"Let letters patent be made"—was the name given to the Chancery warrants authorising the issue of letters patent under the great seal.) Again, in the Fiants of 1591 we

have "*Aghleere* in the Barony of Castlerahan, two polls or cartrocs forfeited by the attainder of Brian O'Relye"; and in the Fiants of 1592 we find "M'Symon of *Agholirr.*" The State papers of 1606 (already quoted) have "*Aghaleere* in the Barony of Castlerahan part of the lands of Brian M'Philip O'Reilly attainted."

We have the name, therefore, occurring in the different forms, Aghleere, Aghaleere, Aghelerre, Agholirr, and the Aghater of the Plantation Map which is clearly a mis-print for Aghaler. The evidence afforded by the State Papers, the Fiants of Eliz., and the Plantation Map, is conclusive in fixing both the original name of the townland, and also its exact position. The spelling of the name indicates that it is *Achadh Ladhair* or the field of the river-fork; the term *ladhair* (pronounced "leer" in Ulster and "lyre" in Munster) having been commonly applied to the portion of land between two rivers. The configuration of the Aghater of the Plantation Map, on which it is shown as bordered on two sides by rivers with a third side stretching along Lough Ramor, is convincing evidence of the meaning of the name, as well as of the suitability of its application. We must then discard Aghanure as being without any definite historical basis; recent historical research has cast grave doubts on the value of the Depositions of 1641-2 as reliable history. As we have seen, the modern name Virginia appears for the first time in the State Papers of 1618; it is not marked on the Plantation Map of 1609, but is given on the Down Survey Map of 1654 as "Virginia and Clanmore." The older name *Achadh Ladhair* would be the more correct Gaelic name as it was in use before the foundation of the present town and is derived from the position of the original townland.

Coming down to later times we get a lucid and interesting description of Virginia and district as it appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century to Isaac Butler, a Dublin physician who made a journey from Dublin to Lough Derg about the year 1745, and who wrote his experiences in an Essay entitled "A Journey From Dublin to the Shores of Lough Derg" (Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, vol. xxii., p. 126. Consecutive Series.) The journey was made by coach from Dublin through Navan, Kells, Virginia, Ballyjamesduff, Cavan, and Belturbet, and the writer gives a brief account of the general appearances and antiquities of the districts through which he travelled. After describing Kells (Ceannanus Mor) he travelled towards Virginia, and this is his description (I give it in modern English):—

> A mile from Kells we passed over a stone bridge of three arches through which flows the Blackwater from Lough Ramour. The country appears open and waste with few houses. Three miles more westerly brought us to the boundaries of the Provinces of Leinster and Ulster and into the County of Cavan. Not far from hence near Lough Vanch was a fine convent. The country is here very rude and

desolate, a large bog on our right and on our left Lough Ramor, which is said to be four miles in length and one in breadth, plentifully stored with wild fowl and fish. A small island a pistol shot from the shore had a good dwelling house on it, with large gardens well laid out belonging to Colonel Woodward of Kells who on the 28th May, 1726, the birth-day of his late Majesty invited several gentlemen of that neighbourhood to a friendly collation, where having several pieces of cannon firing, one of them burst and tore the Colonel to pieces, since which time the house has lain waste and is falling into ruin.

Virginia, entering the county on this side (in the Barony of Castle Raghen), is on the north bank of Lough Ramor, upon the elbow thereof which trends southerly, a poor despicable place not affording a tolerable inn. Here is a good stone bridge of three arches over a river which enters Lough Ramor. From hence through a rude barren country of craggy rocks with mountains covered with bogs and heath, the road up and down hill, with a few scattered miserable cabins to Bally James Doough or Black James's Town, etc. etc.

Butler's description gives us a vivid pen-picture of the appearance and state of the district in the middle of the eighteenth century. With reference to Colonel Woodward and the incident related by Butler, the following note is added by Dr Stokes to Butler's paper:—

"Joseph Woodward of Drumbarragh in Co. Meath, was one of the attainted in the celebrated act of James II. Drumbarragh was changed during the last century into Fort Frederick its present designation."

Dr Stokes is in error when he says that Drumbarragh in Co. Meath was changed to Fort Frederick; the latter place is near Virginia and on the bank of Lough Ramor. The Woodward family were of Cromwellian origin: we find the name of Benjamin Woodward of Meath in the list of soldiers serving in Ireland in the Commonwealth period. The island in Lough Ramor on which Colonel Woodward lived is still known as "Woodward's Island." It is the second in point of area, the "Great Island" being the largest. Barely the ivy-clad foundations of Woodward's mansion have survived the storms and vicissitudes of the two centuries that have passed since Isaac Butler saw it falling into ruin and decay. This island appears to have been a place of residence in the early seventeenth century since the Plantation Map of 1609 has a building marked on it. Traces of the gardens and paths by the water's edge can still be detected.

The islands in Lough Ramor, thirty-two in number, are tastefully planted. The larger ones, especially Woodward's and the Great Island, will repay a visit from the archæologist or the tourist. Although Lough Ramor is not situated amidst "the wild and stern grandeur of the mountains," yet its verdant and gently undulating banks and placid waters, combined with its peacefully secluded islands, romantic in their sylvan insularity, abound in many scenes of natural beauty and historic interest. On its peaceful shores great dramas of history have been enacted and famous romances evolved. A short distance away is Quilca,

the residence of Swift and "Stella," and of Sheridan and "Vanessa." Swift was in residence in Quilca at frequent intervals during the first half of the eighteenth century as his numerous letters therefrom indicate. In a Letter to Dr Sheridan, written from Dublin, and dated Dec., 1722, he says:—"You will find Quilca not the thing it was last August; nobody to relish the lake; no trout to be caught; no Night Heroics, no Morning Epics; no blind Harpers; no Journies to Rantavan, etc." Many of Swift's Letters from Quilca are dated 1725. They deal mainly with domestic matters, and the frequent references to "Stella" throw much light on her unique and vivid personality. Swift also makes frequent references to the lake at Quilca; in one of his Letters to Sheridan he says that "the lake is strangely overflown." On one occasion when Swift was absent his friend, Dr Sheridan, had an artificial island formed in the lake so as to astonish the Dean on his return which is said to have the desired effect. At Quilca Swifte wrote his "Gulliver's Travels," a caustic political satire, the secret of which he only imparted to Dr Sheridan; also some of his best-known satires and Letters. Rantavan, to which Swift refers, in the Letter quoted, was the residence of Henry Brooke, the well-known author, and friend of Swift and Sheridan. Writing from Dublin in 1735 to Mr Pope, Swift says:—"I have an intention to pass this winter in the country with a friend forty miles off." Here in Quilca the versatile and capricious author of "Drapier's Letters," an enigma even to himself, displayed his erratic genius and composed his stinging satires while his vaulting ambition was encompassed with that monumental loneliness of soul which seemed to cloud the spirit of that great master of irony nothwithstanding his romantic and charming associations in his quiet retreat on the banks of Lough Ramor.

PHILIP O'CONNELL

EXHIBITS AT JUNE MEETING.

1. Bronze Sword—Leaf pattern; total length, including tang, 23 1-8 ins; length of blade, 21½ ins.; greatest breadth, seven and a half inches from top, 1½ ins.; at tang, 1 7 8 ins; plain, no midrib; cast, no traces of work; for hafting, 3 rivet holes in blade, 4 in tang; handle missing, was probably of wood or bone. Weight, 19 ozs.
   (For a near illustration of it, see Wakeman's *Handbook*, 2nd ed. p. 281, No. 2, or Wood Martin's *Pagan Ireland* p. 433, No. 194.)
   This was found at Cloughoughter at the time of the Erne drainage. It is one of a great number of bronze swords, spear and javelin heads, bronze celts and palstaves, etc., etc., that were discovered there particularly about that time, when the level of the lake was lowered. They are now in various Museums and private collections, or utterly lost. At the same time in the bed of the river near Gowna a great find, both of gold ornaments and of bronze implements, was come upon. It is hoped it will be described in detail in an early number of the Journal.
2. Two bronze cauldrons.
   The smaller is 9½ ins. in diameter and 8ins. in depth. It was found near Crosskeys about 15 years ago.
   The larger, which is very graceful in outline, is 10½ins. in diameter, 11½ins. in depth and 12 ins. high. It was obtained in the neighbourhood of Killeshandra about 20 years ago. From this district there are many objects of antiquarian interest in the Dublin Museum. Both cauldrons are cast, not riveted.
3. Rush-light and resin candle-holders. All of them of twisted iron and of an ordinary pattern. These "rawsin candlesticks" as they are generally called, as well as the "grissets" for making the candles, are often met with both in Leitrim and in Cavan. In Leitrim they were in fairly common use up to 40 years ago. Then they were displaced by the tallow dips. On showing them at the meeting rush-candles were inserted in the clamps and lighted. They had been prepared by an old Cavan lady who as a girl was an expert at this home manufacture. They were seen to give a serviceable, if not a brilliant, light.
   All the foregoing belong to Dr F. Smith, D.L., Kevitt Castle, who kindly brought them in.
4. A stone celt, 5 ins. by 2¾ ins., highly polished, unchipped, of a greenish shade, possibly jade. Found in Aughaloora in 1919 in the debris of an old house which had been taken down. Shown by Rev J. B. Meehan.
5. A collection of polished celts, different sizes, smooth, dark stone, the largest being 7¼ ins. long and 2½ ins. wide; 5

bronze celts from the earliest flat variety to the latest socketed pattern; a bronze cauldron, medium size, riveted; a bronze penannular brooch, 2 1-8 ins. in outside diameter, beautifully chased. All these are from a fine collection put together by the late Mr Whelan, Cavan. They were discovered in the neighbourhood of the town in different places and at different times, but all over 30 years ago. The brooch was found at Shantamon. Exhibited by his son, B. Whelan, Esq.

6. A socketed bronze celt, about 4½ ins., slightly ornamented; would be said to have been cast in the same mould as the latest of the last collection, but that it is as large and a half. This is the only object known of now out of a great find discovered in 1885 in Callinagh bog, parish of Mullahoran, by Mr P. Smith, of Aghakilmore. They were 9 feet down in the bog. It consisted of about thirty of these celts, a score of bronze spear-heads, wooden handles attached to a few of them, hundreds of glass beads of an amber colour, and many other objects, the identity of which cannot now be made out from the finder's description of them. This celt was preserved by P. M'Gennis, Esq., Kilnaleck.
7. A Charter granted to the Borough of Cavan in 1688 by James II. The original parchment document, which was shown to the members, is in the possession of D. O'Reilly, Esq., J.P., Cavan. The Charter of James 1., dated 1611, creating Cavan a Borough is still to be had. It is now the property of D. Carolan Rushe, Esq., Far-Meehul, Monaghan. Portions of a copy of it were read.
8. An ancient seal of the diocese of Kilmore.
   The matrix of this seal is lodged in the British Museum. Impressions of it in wax were shown. Sir C. H. Read kindly furnished the following particulars about it, abstracted from the MS. Catalogue of the Museum:—
   "Seal—brass—circular—Diam 1 7-8 inches—loop at back.
   *** S':COMMVNE: CLERI: TIRBRIVNENSIS.**
   Under a crocheted canopy the Virgin and Child seated on a throne, to her right an episcopal figure kneeling."
   Sir C. H. Read adds that "it was here [i.e., in British Museum] in 1838, and may have been presented by one Dr. O'Reilly. Its date is 14th century." Mr E. C. R. Armstrong, Curator of the National Museum, Dublin, author of *Irish Seal—Matrices and Seals*, and perhaps the greatest authority in Ireland on the subject, was shown the seal. He also declared it 14th century. It follows from their use that seals themselves seldom or never bear a date.
   There is a cast of this seal in the Dublin Museum, and it is illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue of Seals*, Vol. IV., Pl. XII., No. 17, 379. Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

Matrix, Side View, and Seal (Exact Size) of Sir John O'Reilly.

(From Armstrong's Irish Seal Matrices and Seals.)

BELTURBET CORPORATION.

Matrix, Side View and Seal—Exact Size.

(From Armstrong's Irish Seal Matrices and Seals.)

The Consistorial Seal of the Diocese of Ardagh, 1774.

Matrix, side view and impression of the Seal of Hugh O'Reilly, Vicar Apostolic and afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, subsequently Archbishop of Armagh.

(From Armstrong's Irish Seal Matrices and Seals.)

THE LEGEND OF CONALL CERNACH IN CENTRAL IRELAND.

By Miss Margaret E. Dobbs, F.R.A.S.I.

[Read 8th November, 1920.]

As the revival of our classical literature is of recent growth, it is well to state clearly at the beginning of this paper the place and date of Conall Cernach in that literature. He belongs to the cycle of great sagas, known as the Tain Cycle. These stories, in the opinion of the leading scholars of our day, originated in, and represent the culture of, the early Iron Age in Ireland; that is, the period from 300 B.C. to 100 A.D. This culture was drawn from the La Tène, or Celtic, culture of central Europe and Britain. In the Tain Cycle Conall is represented as the friend and avenger of Cu Chullain, as a great soldier, and as belonging to the Rudrician family who ruled N.E. Ulster at that period. He is the leading hero in Ulster next to Cu Chullain himself. In certain tales he appears as the principal character, and may be said to have a saga of his own, distinct from that of Cu Chullain. He also figures prominently in the genealogies. He is classed as one of the three chief ancestors of the peoples of Antrim and Down and North Louth. The other two names are Fergus Mac Roig and Celtchar. The oldest Ulster stock, the Dal Araide traced their descent to Conall. He has, therefore, a double claim to interest, both as an heroic character in romance and as an ancestor of families existing in historic times.

It is noteworthy that his descendants, as well as those of the other two named, were not confined to North-east Ulster. The seven families of the Sogain in Meath, the Laigse in Ossory and the Fir Iboth about Loch Derg on the Shannon, all called themselves descendants of Conall. I cannot find any indication of any of these peoples in Cavan. Nevertheless, Cavan contains the spot associated with his death and burial, and I am told that his cairn and standing stone are still pointed out on a hill west of Ballyconnell.

It may interest Cavan readers to know that the story of how Conall came to die at this place still exists, and has been published in the Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, vol. 1. Two versions are known; one in H.2.17. in Trinity College Library, and one in Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, codex XL. The full title is "The Cherishing of Conall Cernach in Cruachan." The exact translation can be read in the Zeitschrift in the great Dublin libraries. I shall, therefore, only outline it here.

Conall is represented in all his sagas as a professional soldier of the type of the mediaeval free-lance. He is not a prince or lord of territory like Conchobar or Cu Chullain. His only consistent warfare was a deadly feud with Connaught. He is frequently spoken of as fighting in Scotland and the Hebrides. In the tale "Bruden da Derga," he fights for the High King, Conaire Mor, against pirates. Again, no settled home or fort of his own is attributed to him as to Cu Roi or Cu Chullain. His father's fort is frequently given as at Tailltenn in Meath, but Conall is never mentioned as living there. In accordance with this view of his character, the story of his death represents him as homeless and forlorn in his old age, so friendless and destitute that he actually sought refuge with his worst enemies at Cruachan in Connaught. There is no reason given why his numerous family did not take care of him. The story takes it as normal and natural that he had no home, and that his worst enemies gave him shelter simply for the asking. This did not mean that they had forgiven him. It probably indicates some rule of hospitality not to be broken on any excuse whatsoever and taken for granted. He was given a dwelling on the rampart of the rath and "men would bring their spears to him to be set and to be chipped" early in the morning. Then, Medb used him as a tool in the murder of her husband, Aillil. The deed accomplished, she flung the blame on Conall who, having murdered his host, had forfeited all claim to hospitality. His life as a suppliant was no longer sacred and he fled from Cruachan across Magh Luirg (N.E., Roscommon) towards Magh Slecht (district N.E. of Garadice Lake.) He probably crossed the Shannon near Drumsna. It is the only place where the great river could be crossed in prehistoric times between Lough Allen and Roosky, and is in the direct line from Cruachan to Ballyconnell. Medb had three desperadoes in her service, the three Ruadchoin from Martine in Munster. She despatched them on Conall's track, and they overtook him at Ath na Mianna—the Miner's Ford—and slew him there. I do not know if any story resembling the above is told at Ballyconnell. It would be most interesting if any antiquarian in that district would collect all traces of tradition from old people, and publish the results in your magazine.

As a rule the heroic tales that have survived locally are corrupted into wild fairy tales of giants. For instance, the fine story, "Tain Bo Flidais," was found in West Mayo as a folk-tale of local giants, and the same thing occurred in the tradition of Fionn Mac Cumhail.

It is well to remember that in looking for the traces of a story the people should be asked for their traditions before giving any hint of what the story is. It is to be noted in the tales concerning Conall that his birth-place, Teltown, is in Meath, and his death and burial are located at Ballyconnell, both in central Ireland. He is, however, in all the tales about him and in the genealogies, consistently associated with the Cruithne, or Picts, of N.E. Antrim, and their royal families claimed descent from him. The Seven Tribes of the Sogain, who made the same claim, are the

only descendants who were near Teltown or Cavan. According to the Onomasticon Goedelicum, they were in Roscommon and Galway as well as Meath, but nowhere do I find any trace of them in Cavan. The legend about Ballyconnell is interesting because it is unexpected.

In most cases the deaths of the heroes or heroines of the tales occur in the region associated with them; e.g., Cu Chullain dies near Dundalk, Celtchar near Downpatrick, Cu Roi at Sliabh Mis, Medb at Cruachan, and so on. It is difficult for a stranger to guess how far the story is consistent with the locality. I should be much interested to know if "the Miner's Ford" where "the miners were washing ore in the river above him," can be identified, and what metals exist in the neighbourhood that may have been here indicated. As a rule, however imaginative the story, the topographical details are true to fact and place. I hope that some Cavan scholar will study the story in the original, and compare it with the local tradition and topography and communicate the results to your Journal.

M. E. DOBBS.

MEMBERS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT FOR CAVAN COUNTY AND THE BOROUGHS OF CAVAN AND BELTURBET.

I. MEMBERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By T. S. Smyth.

[Read 8th November, 1920.]

From the time Cavan County was formed into a shire it had, as it still has, the right of returning two members to Parliament. In inquiring into the origin of the county we find that primitive Ulster was almost coterminous with the modern province of that name, but it included Louth. Cavan, being then incorporated with Connaught, formed no part of it. East Breny (or Breifne) was, in 1584, formed into the modern County of Cavan and added to Ulster. In 1579, just before its formation, Sir Nicholas Bagnal stated that "never writ was current in O'Reilly's countrie, and it was almost a sacrilege for any Governor of Ireland to look into that territory." (State Papers.) We learn that Sir John Perrott's contribution to the shiring of Ulster was little more than a settlement on paper of the boundaries of the new counties he desired to create. Of the province, Sir John Davies says:—"After him (Sidney) Sir John Perrott. . . . reduced the unreformed parts of Ulster into seven shires, namely, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, though in his time the law was never executed in these new counties by any Sheriff or Justice of Assize; but the people left to be ruled by their own barbarous lords and laws." Whether this is correct or not, the fact remains that the county was formed at the date mentioned; and within a year after its formation Cavan returned Parliamentary representatives. The names of the first two members—those for 1585—are included in the list annexed.

In 1611 the town of Cavan was granted a Charter, and this empowered the borough to send two members to the Irish Parliament, which it did until the Act of Union came into operation. Belturbet was incorporated as a borough in 1613, two years later than Cavan, and, like the latter town, from then until 1800 it had the privilege of appointing two Parliamentary representatives.

Before dealing with the members in the Irish Parliament for the seventeenth century, it should be mentioned that in 1653 Cromwell summoned six Irish members to Westminster "to take upon them the Trust of this Commonwealth." This was the assembly that the royalists opprobriously termed Barebones' Parliament. Sir R. King, mentioned below, was one of the six Irishmen who were summoned. It is interesting to notice that in it he gave Ireland less than one-twentieth of the representation of

England, exactly that of Wales, and one-sixth more than Scotland. The following year, upon the 27th June, an ordinance was passed providing for a regular distribution of seats. It allowed Ireland, like Scotland, a total representation of thirty members. Ulster was allotted seven representatives, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Monaghan jointly having one member. Connaught had four members, of whom two represented Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim.

The names of members of local interest in the Cromwellian Parliaments are*:—

1654	Cavan, Fermanagh and Monaghan ...	Col. John Cole.
	Sligo, Roscommon and Leitrim ...	Sir Robt. King.
		Sir John Temple
		Richard Blaney.
1656	Cavan, Fermanagh and Monaghan ...	Sir Robt. King.
	Sligo, Roscommon and Leitrim ...	John Bridges.
1659	Cavan, Fermanagh and Monaghan ...	Col. T. Coote.
	Sligo, Roscommon and Leitrim ...	Robert Parke.
		Thomas Waller.

The six members of 1653 were summoned simply by Cromwell's mandate. The mode of selection of the thirty to the three subsequent Parliaments was almost equally arbitrary. Leland shows this in some detail† Green‡ and Lingard§ agree with him. Of the 1656 Parliament another historian says bluntly that "the Irish and Scottish members were not elected, but appointed by the Government."‖

In the assembly of 1656 a motion was carried requesting Cromwell to assume the title of King. Bridges alone of our local members voted with the majority, in favour of it.

Herewith is the List of Members for the seventeenth century, which has been extracted from a Blue Book of 1879, entitled "Members of Parliament." This book was a "return to an Order of the House of Lords," and its number among the Lords' Papers is 180-1:—

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* Journal R.S.A.I., 1893, pp. 73-78.

† History of Ireland, 1st Ed. Vol. III., p. 398.

‡ Short History of English People, 1889. Part III., p. 593.

§ History of England, 1st Ed., Vol. VII., p. 220.

‖ Tait in Supplement to Green, Part III., p. 200.

NAMES OF MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN PARLIAMENT.

CONSTITUENCY: CAVAN COUNTY.

Date.	Name.	Residence.	
1585 — April	Philip O'Reyly, Esq. ...	Cavan	(1)
	Edmund O'Reyly, Esq. ...	Do	(2)
1613 6 April	Sir Oliver Lambert, Kt. ...	Kilbeggan, W'meath	(3)
	John Fishe, Esq. ...	Lissineen	
1634 1 July	Luke Dillon, Esq. ...	Trinity Island	(4)
	Sir Stephen Butler, Kt. ...	Belturbet	(5)
1639 — Mar.	Philip McHugh O'Rely ... (O'Reilly ws expelled 22 June, 1642, for the Rebellion 17 Nov., 1641.)	——	(6)
	Robert Baylye, Esq. ...	——	(7)
1661 12 April	Sir Fras Hamilton, Bt. ...	Castlehamilton	(8)
	Thomas Coote, Esq. ...	Coote Hill	(9)
1692 28 Sept.	Sir Fras Hamilton, Bt. ...	Castlehamilton	
	Robt. Saunderson, Esq. ...	Castle Saunderson	(10)
1695 20 Aug.	Sir Fras Hamilton, Bt. ...	Castlehamilton	
	Robt Saunderson, Esq. ...	Castle Saunderson	

CONSTITUENCY: CAVAN BOROUGH.

1613 2 May	Hugh Culme, Esq. ...	Lisnamain	
	George Sexton, Esq. ...	Dublin	
1614 27 Oct.	Walter Brady, gent., the first Sovereign, Cavan elected 3 May, 1613.	——	(11)
	Thomas Brady, gent. ...	Cavan	(12)
1634 1 July	Alan Cooke, LL.D. ...	Dublin	(13)
	Brockhill Taylor, Esq. ...	Ballyhayes	
1639 — Mar.	Alan Cooke, LL.D. ...	Dublin	
	Edward Lake, LL.D. ... (Lake was expelled 9th November, 1640)	Dublin	
1661 11 April	William Moore ...	Tullyvin	
	Thomas Ashe, Esq. ...	Ashfield, Meath	
1692 22 Sept.	Robert Saunders, Esq. ...	——	
	Thomas Ashe, Esq. ...	Ashfield, Meath	
1695 20 Aug.	Thomas Ashe, Esq. ...	Ashfield, Meath	
	Robert Saunders, Esq. ...	——	

CONSTITUENCY: BELTURBET BOROUGH.

1613 13 April	Sir Hugh Wirrall, Kt. ...	Belturbet	(14)
	George Grimesditch, Esq ...	Dublin	
1634 24 June	Sir Arthur Blundell, Kt. ...	Blundellstown alias Lomelone	(15)
		King's County	
	William Ryves, Esq. ...	——	
1639 — Mar.	Sir John Borlase, Kt. ...	Dublin	(16)
	Richard Ashe, Esq. ...	——	(17)
	(Ashe expelled 22 June, 1642, for Rebellion.) ...		
1661 12 April	Stephen Butler, Esq. ...	Belturbet	(18)
	Thomas Worsopp, (Knt.)...	Dunshaughlin	
1662 11 April	Francis Butler, Esq. ... vice Butler, decd.	Belturbet	(19)
1692 29 Sept.	Francis Butler, Esq. ...	Belturbet	
	John Warburton, Esq. ...	Dublin	
1695 12 Aug.	Francis Butler, Esq. ...	Belturbet	
	John Warburton, Esq. ...	Dublin	

As explaining the blank between 1614 and 1634 in the above tables it should be recalled that from 1615 till 1634 no Parliament sat in Ireland. A second long hiatus is accounted for by the existence of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660, and by Cromwell's Parliaments above referred to. James II.'s Parliament at Dublin in 1689 is not recognised or referred to.

Subjoined are particulars relating to many of the members in the foregoing lists. This information has been gleaned, except where otherwise stated, from Archdall's "Lodge's Peerage," Dublin, 1789.

(1) Philip O'Reilly was son of the chieftain Hugh, who died in 1583, and was buried in the monastery of Cavan. Of Hugh the "Four Masters" (p. 1804) say that "he was a man who had passed his time without contests, and who had preserved Breifne from the invasions of his English and Irish enemies." A note at page 1809 in the same work (O'Donovan's edition), copied from a Lambeth manuscript, states that "the Breny, now called the countie of Cavan, hath been tyme out of minde whollie in the jurisdiction of him that for the tyme was O'Reillye, that is to say Lord of the countrie."

To this Philip O'Reilly, one of the first two that entered the Irish Parliament, was allotted the barony of Iniskine (now Clankee) when the county was divided by Sir H. Sidney among "the principal gentlemen of the O'Reillies." In 1596 he was nominated by O'Neill as "O'Reilly over all Breifne." But he was soon after accidentally slain by O'Neill's people, and then his uncle Emann or Edmund was styled O'Reilly, or The O'Reilly. Emann was elected in 1598.

(2) This Edmund is the second name on the lists. He was chief of East Breifne. To him and his heirs had been assigned at the partition above-mentioned the barony of Castlerahan. He resided at Kilnacrott, in the parish of Crosserlough. He died in April, 1601, and was buried in the monastery of St. Francis at Cavan. The "Four Masters" (p. 2243) describe him as "an aged, grey-headed, long-memoried man, and had been quick and vivacious in his mind and intellect in his youth."

So early as the year 1558 Emann and his brother Hugh made a covenant with the English Government; and again in 1567, when they promised among other things that they would pursue their brothers, Cahir O'Reilly, Owen O'Reilly, and Thomas O'Reilly, "nunc rebelles et eos ferro et flamma punire." (Note to "Four Masters," p. 1804, etc.)

From this chief, Emann, descend the O'Reilly's formerly of Heath House, Queen's County; the O'Reillys of Baltrasna and Scarvagh; and Count O'Reilly of Spain. Miles W. O'Reilly, of Knock Abbey, Louth, was descended from him by both father

and mother. Seventh in descent from Emann was Count O'Reilly, Generalissimo of His Catholic Majesty's forces, Inspector-General of Infantry, Civil and Military Governor of Cadiz etc. (Cl. O'D.'s Notes to same Annals; year, 1601.)

Emann married a daughter of the Baron of Dunsany, and had Cahir, John, and Terence Neirinn; he married secondly a daughter of Baron Delvin, and had Myles, Farrel and Charles. His son, John, married a daughter of Sir James Butler, and had a son Brian, who died in 1631, and was the father of Maelmora, known as "Myles the Slasher," a distinguished cavalry officer in the war of 1641.

To Emann as chief succeeded his nephew, Eoghan (Owen), son of Hugh Conallagh, his brother. But Owen died in the same year, 1601. Owen was followed by Maelmora or Myles, the fourth son of Hugh Connallagh and the last chief of East Breifne. He enjoyed that dignity till the plantation of 1609. Myles died in 1635.—(Note to "Four Masters," p. 2240.)

(3) Sir Oliver Lambert was the father of the first Earl of Cavan. He came from an ancient family, which derived its immediate descent from Lambert, Count of Mons and Louvain. Sir Oliver was the son of Walter Lambert or Lambart—the name is variously spelt—whose wife, Rose, was the daughter of an ancestor of the Earl of Portsmouth. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Oliver was in Ireland, and, in a decree dated 8th September, 1581, he is mentioned as a gentleman of good credit and a nephew to Sir Henry Wallop, Knt., her Majesty's Vice-Treasurer. He was a prominent soldier in his day, for he attended Robert, Earl of Essex, in his first expedition to Spain; and the latter in 1596 made him a Knight for his bravery in storming Cadiz. In Ireland, Sir Oliver served against Tyrconnell; he commanded 200 foot for some time at Enniscorthy; in March, 1600, he victualled the garrison of Maryborough for three months; and in the beginning of April of the same year, with 1,000 foot and 100 horse he invaded the territories of Leix and Offaly. In 1601, Sir Oliver was appointed Governor of Connaught. Immediately he took up duty he began to build the fort of Galway; and when it was finished, in 1602, he went in prosecution of O'Rourke, but was recalled from that service when the Spaniards landed at Berehaven.

King James, as a reward for his signal services, made him a Privy Councilor, and granted him patents of lands in thirteen counties. In Co. Cavan he had 2,000 escheated acres, "called the Carig"; and at Tullacullen, in the same county he purchased from the original patentees, Captain Lyons and Joseph Jones, another 1,000 acres, upon which he built a bawn of lime and stone two hundred feet square, fourteen feet high, and a deep moat about it. Both Carig and Tullacullen were in the Precinct or

Barony of Clanmahon (" Clonemahown "). From a report to the Privy Council of the Commissioners for the case of Phelim M'Feugh Byrne, who was accused of murder and rebellion, dated Jan. 20, 1629, it appears that his son, Lord Lambert had also land at " Inniskeen, Co. Cavan." (Mahaffy's Calendar of State Papers.) Further, we would like to remark that Sir Oliver had a grant from Queen Elizabeth, dated 8th January, 1595, of " the hospitals or houses or Urney, Killdalloun, Ballynehinchy, etc., in Cavan."

Owing to his success in his various expeditions, Sir Oliver was advanced to the Peerage of Ireland, by patent at Dublin, 17th February, 1617, creating him Lord Lambart, Baron of Cavan. However, he did not enjoy his new dignity long, as he died in London on the 9th July, 1618. After his death three inquisitions were held, the first taking place at Cavan on 30th September, 1618; and the results show that he had become amply enriched out of confiscated property.

Oliver Baron Cavan was succeeded by his son, Charles, who served in the English Parliament and was an eloquent speaker. Charles was appointed, 6th March, 1627, Seneschal for the government of the County of Cavan and the town of Kells. In a State Paper setting forth the Manner of proceeding to the Parliament holden in Dublin, July 14th, 1634, Charles Lambert is referred to as Lord Lambert, Baron of Cavan. (Mahaffy's Calendar.) By privy seal, dated at Newcastle, 14th January, 1646, he was promoted to the dignity of Earl of Cavan and Viscount of Kilcoursie in the King's Co. The title remains. The present holder, born in 1865, is the 10th Earl of Cavan, and a descendant of this Charles. (Burke's Peerage.)

(4) Luke Dillon was brother to the Earl of Roscommon, and a friend of the famous Bishop Bedell. When the insurrection of 1641 broke out, Mr Dillon and Philip McMulmore O'Reilly interceded with the chief of the O'Reilly clan—the leader of the rising in Cavan—on behalf of the Bishop, who was then harbouring English people who had suffered at the hands of the insurrectionists. During the rising the Bishop himself and some others were imprisoned by Edmund O'Reilly in Loughoughter Castle; but, thanks to the efforts of Mr Dillon and two friends in arranging an exchange of prisoners, his incarceration was of short duration, namely, from the 18th December till the succeeding 7th January.* When his Lordship died, his friends desired to bury him in the churchyard where his wife was interred. There was, however, some difficulty about doing this; but Mr Luke Dillon again exercised his influence successfully, with the result that the wishes of the Bishop's friends were carried out.†

* " Two Biographies of William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore," Ed. by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. (Cambridge—1902), pp. 69 and 193.
† Do. page 204.

(5) Sir Stephen Butler came to Ireland in the reign of King James I., being an undertaker in the plantation of Ulster. He received a grant of 2,000 acres, called Clonose, in County Cavan, upon which he erected a castle and a bawn of great strength. In 1618 he was able to arm 200 men with first class weapons; and besides the arms stored in his castle, he had his tenants armed for their security. Sir Stephen and other undertakers were allowed 384 acres for planting a town at Belturbet and building a church; and Pynnar's work states that there were at that time houses built of cage-work, all inhabited by British tenants, most of whom were tradesmen, each having a house and garden plot with four acres of land, and commons for cattle. According to the same authority, Sir Stephen built two corn mills and one fulling mill at Clonose. He also owned 1,500 acres, called Kilspenan, in Fermanagh, apparently having purchased them from the first patentee, Lord Mountwhany.

Sir Stephen, by his will, dated September 8th, 1638, ordered that his body be buried in the Chancel of Belturbet Church; and when he died, 21st April, 1639, he was buried there. His wife, daughter of Gervas Brindsley of Nottingham, remarried Edward Philpot, who swore in a deposition, 27th February, 1642, " that when the rebellion began in the County of Cavan, he and Dame Mary Butler, his wife, with five of the children of her former husband, Sir Stephen, of Belturbet, were forcibly expelled by the rebels and driven from their habitation and lands," etc. However, the 1641 insurrection did not sever the connection of the Butler family with Belturbet. As the list of members shows, Belturbet borough was represented in Parliament from 1661 to 1695 by Butlers. They were sons of Sir Stephen.

(6) Philip McHugh O'Rely was " the second son of O'Reilly of Cavan."* Elected Knight for Cavan shire in 1639, he played a prominent part in the Irish House of Commons, and eventually was created a member of the Privy Council. In 1640, however, he was taken into the confidence of Rory O'More, the leader of the Rising of 1641, with the result that he became an outstanding figure in the insurrection. In the succeeding War of Confederates he was on the side of Ormonde, against the Parliamentarians. Amongst the Duke's MSS., preserved at Kilkenny Castle, is a Commission of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated Aug. 8, 1650, " directed to Sir Phelim O'Neill, Knt., Torlogh O'Niell, Torlogh O'Boyle, Philip McHugh O'Reyly, Torlogh McArte O'Neile and Hugh McMahon, Esquires," giving them jurisdiction over all Ulster, " there being none at present qualified with any civil power there," and empowering them " to try and make inquest and enquiry of all murders manslaughters, rapes, felonies, burglaries and such like offences, as also to hear and

* Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIV., p. 1145.

determine all matters of debt between party and party, the same not exceeding ten pounds sterling in such manner and power as Judges of Assize heretofore in time of peace did, or by the laws of the land were accustomed to do in the said Province.*

McHugh O'Reilly in his military life was both daring and chivalrous. He married a sister of Owen Roe O'Neill and died in Louvain in 1657.

(7) According to Mahaffy's Calendar of State Papers, a Robert Bailey on May 14th, 1628 was granted 3 poles of land [75 acres,] Drummore, Drummackarrow and Corlorgrane in the Barony of Clonchy, now Clankee, Co. Cavan. This may be the man, though we have nothing but the name to guide us.

Again, Pynnar's Survey of Ulster, made between December, 1618, and the 28th March, 1619, records "for the Precinct of Clanchie" that "William. Bealie, Esq., holdeth 1,000 acres called Tonregie," and that his wife and family are living there. Possibly the Robert Baylye, Esq., who was M.P. for Cavan County twenty years later, was a relative not improbably a son.

As the Barony mentioned was allotted to Scottish Undertakers we may presume that the Bailies were Scotsmen. Tonregie, now called Tanderagee, is beside the town of Bailieborough, a town which takes its name most probably from William. By the year 1619 he had "planted and estated" upon his "proportion" ten families, "consisting of twenty-eight men armed" of "British Birth and Descent." He had also built a stone bawne, 90 feet square, with two flankers. "In one of the flankers there is a Castle in building which is above the first storie." It was 30 feet by 22 and vaulted.

Lisgar house, now owned and occupied by the Marist Brothers, occupies the site of this ancient fortress. Bealie's Castle, which Pynnar describes, remained standing till about 1832. It was then pulled down to make room for additions and improvements in the modern building. (Lewis' Top. Dicy.) The later, often styled Bailieborough Castle, was at the time the residence of Sir W. Young, a Director of the East India Company, who had been created Baronet in 1821. His son, Sir John, was a distinguished Statesman, Governor of S. Australia, Chief Secretary for Ireland (1853), the last High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1855-9), etc., etc., Morley's *Life of Gladstone* has a great deal to say about him. In 1870 he was raised to the Peerage as Baron Lisgar. But dying without issue six years later the Peerage became extinct and the Baronetcy devolved on his nephew. It still continues, but the holders of it have ceased connection with Bailieborough. (Debrett's Baronetage, etc.)

* Historical Manuscripts Commission, New Series, Vol. I., 1902, p. 157.

(8) Sir Francis Hamilton was one of the commissioners for the settlement of Ireland. He married first Catherine, daughter of Hugh, the first Earl of Mount-Alexander; and he married secondly, Anne, daughter and co-heir to Claude Hamilton, Esq.

(9) Thomas Coote, of Cootehill, was a captain in the army of King Charles I., and Governor of Coleraine for the Parliament, after the reduction of the Kingdom by Cromwell. King Charles, 9th February, 1660, made him a lieutenant-colonel in the Earl of Ossory's regiment; and he had five grants of land under the Acts of Settlement. He married Frances, daughter of Moses Hill, Esq., of Hillsborough. Dying without issue, 25th November 1671, he was buried in Christ Church Dublin.

(10) Robert Saunderson, of Castle Saunderson, "made a noble stand, in 1689, against the illegal proceedings of King James's minions." It appears that at a Quarter Sessions held at Cavan, on the 8th of January of that year, Captain Robert Saunderson mounted the bench, and asked by what commission the Justices sat there. When they replied "by that of King James," he told them the authority was not good while the laws were unrepealed. He then ordered the people concerned to return home. That they obeyed his command there can be little doubt; for when he entered the town he was accompanied by a body of fourscore horse. As soon as Tyrconnell heard of this occurrence, he threatened to send down some troops of horse. This threat so terrified the people "that almost every man put himself in arms."

In part II. of the Blue Book referred to previously, the names of the members of Parliament for Cavan, from 1695 to 1699, are repeated. There is, however, an interesting addition —it is recorded that Robert Saunderson was expelled from Parliament, and his place taken by Francis White.

(11) Walter Brady was the first Sovereign or Mayor of Cavan. His name appears in the Charter granted to the town by King James I., which directs that the area of the borough is "to be measured and taken from the stone house or castle wherein Walter Brady, Gent., now dwelleth."

(12) Thomas Brady was one of the twelve burgesses of the Cavan Corporation, constituted by King James I. Besides Thomas, there are three other men of the name of Brady mentioned in the Charter of 1611. From this it is patent that the Bradys played a prominent part in, if they did not actually rule, the town in those days.

(13) Dr Alan Cooke, who represented Cavan borough in 1634 and 1639, was, in all probability, the person of that name who was Chancellor of Kilmore in the days of Bedell. We find in the

Bishop's biographies (quoted before) that his Lordship wrote a letter to Archbishop Laud complaining that Dr Cooke—a lay man—held too many ecclesiastical positions. After mentioning the Chancellor's appointments in Clogher and elsewhere, the Bishop proceeds:—"Besides all these (Dr. Cooke) is officiall to the Archdeaconry of Dublin, Judge of the Admiralty, Master of the Chancery, Principal Advocate of the High Commission Court, one of those of the Prerogative Court, and Sovereigne of the Towne of Cavan." Indeed, the Bishop and the Chancellor were no friends. Dr Cooke was appointed Chancellor before Bedell took charge of the See, and wanted to continue in that office under the latter's regime. His Lordship opposed this and tried to remove him, with the result that a prolonged struggle ensued.

(14) Sir Hugh Wirral, according to Pynnar's "Survey of Ulster," had in Cavan one thousand five hundred acres "called Monaghan." Upon this, we learn, he built no bawn, but he set about erecting a house of lime and stone; which ultimately, though standing for two years unfinished, became the property of a Mr Adwick. On this estate there were three freeholders and five lessees, all British families. In Fermanagh, Sir Hugh had one thousand acres "called Ardmagh," whose first patentee was Thomas Plomstead. This land contained a bawn of lime and stone sixty-six feet square, with two flankers, and a little stone house or tower. "He hath," writes Pynnar, "no Freeholder nor Leaseholder, and but three poor men on the Land, which have no Estates, for all the Land at this time is inhabited with Irish."

(15) Sir Arthur Blundell, of Blundellstown, had a daughter, Joyce, his sole heiress, who married the third Castlestewart.

(16) Sir John Borlase was born in 1576. He served as a soldier in the Low Countries sometime before 1608, and was in Sir Horace Vere's Palatinate expedition in 1620. Lord Dillon and Sir William Parsons were Lord Justices in 1640. Dillon was considered a dangerous man, and was eventually removed from the position, his place being taken by Borlase. Sir Henry Tichbourne succeeded Parsons on the 21st January, 1644, but when Ormonde became Viceroy both Lord Justices were dismissed. Borlase died in London on the 15th March, 1647 (or 1648.) His estate was so wasted by the rebellion that his widow applied for State aid.*

That he had any connection with Belturbet, further than sitting for it in the Irish Parliament, we have failed to discover.

* Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. II., p. 860.

(17) Richard Ashe was one of the two score members who were expelled from the Irish Parliament on the 22nd June, 1642, for being connected with the rebellion of the previous year. The resolution of the House of Commons dealing with the matter is interesting, and accordingly it is given in extenso:—

"For as much as it appears unto this House, that the persons hereafter named, who were members of this House, are either in open rebellion or stand indicted of high treason, so as the said persons are conceived and adjudged to be rotten and unprofitable members fit to be cut off, and not worthy any longer to be esteemed, as members of this Honourable House. It is, therefore, now ordered, that all the said undernamed persons shall stand expelled and excluded from this House and be no longer reputed any members of the same; and it be further ordered that Mr Speaker shall issue out warrants to the Clerk of the Crown of His Majesty's High Court of Chancery to issue forth writs for new elections to be made in the Rooms and Places of the said undernamed persons."*.

The names which follow include those of Richard Ashe and Philip McHugh O'Rely.

In the Precinct of Castlerahan a Sir Th. Ash in 1619 held 1,000 acres at Mullagh and 500 at Murmode, besides other lands. Possibly this Richard was a relative. (Pynnar.)

(18) Stephen Butler, who was the second son of Sir Stephen Butler, mentioned before, married 20th May, 1660, Anne, daughter of Sir James Barry, the first Lord Santry. By the marriage he had three children—James, Richard, and Catherine—all of whom died young. He himself died, 12th February, 1662, and was buried in Christ Church.

(19) Francis Butler was a younger brother of Stephen just mentioned. He bore arms in the service of King Charles I. during the quarrels between King and Parliament. He, however, incurred the dislike of King James II., and was involved in the Act of Attainder, having his estate sequestered. By his marriage with Judith, daughter of Sir Theophilus Jones, P.C., Osbertstown, Meath, he had five sons and five daughters. He died at Belturbet 15th August, 1702, and was buried there.

This Francis Butler was the ancestor of the Lanesborough family. His eldest son, Theophilus, was created Baron of Newtown-Butler on 21st Oct., 1715; and, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Brinsley. Brinsley became Viscount Lanesborough on 12th Aug., 1728. Humphrey, one of his twenty-three children and 2nd viscount, was created Earl of Lanesborough 20th July, 1756. The present Lord, born in 1865, is the 7th Earl of Lanesborough. (Burke's Peerage.)

* Journal of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. I. (1613-1666), p. 299.

EXHIBITS AT THE NOVEMBER MEETING.

Old Maps Were the Main Exhibits.

The Down Survey Maps were shown by Mr Walker, Clones, who explained very minutely how they were made, their fate subsequently, and their historical value. Speede's map of "Connaugh," date 1610, and also copies of Ptolemy's and of the earliest known maps of Ireland, Italian in origin, were also exhibited. A very interesting local map on view was one of "The Towne of the Cavan," copied from one in the State Paper Office made about 1593. "Aurelie's (i.e., O'Reilly's) castell on the hill over the Cavan," the Market Cross and the Bull Ring in the Main Street, and also the Church and Tower of the Franciscan Monastery off what is now Bridge Street, the tower apparently what it is to-day, are depicted on it. This map was kindly lent by Mr H. Clarke, C.P.S., Cavan.

A recent find of bog butter was also shown. It was discovered July, 1920, by Mr John Fitzpatrick in the bog beside Keilderry National School, in the parish of Crosserlough. Very many finds of the kind, sometimes in ornamented wooden containing vessels, have been made in County Cavan; but in recent years they are rare.

This was about 3 feet beneath the surface. The dish was full and had "a criven" on it. A cloth had been spread over it all. The cloth had decayed away, but it left its track plainly on the outside layer.

The dish or trencher is in an excellent state of preservation It is a perfect oval with projecting perforated handles, all formed out of one piece of wood. The longer axis is 14½ inches, and the shorter 11⅞ inches; depth, 3⅝ inches. The rim is a half-inch broad, and the even half-inch all round. The vessel is graceful in outline, almost perfectly finished, and has some ornamental features.

THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE DIOCESE OF KILMORE, 1356--1560.

By W. H. Grattan Flood, Mus.D., K.S.G.

The early history of the Diocese of Kilmore has yet to be written, and it is not my intention to touch on the intricate question of the Bishops of Ui-Briuin or Tirbruin during mediaeval times. The *Annals of Tighernach* (Ed. by W. Stokes in *Revue Celtique* xvi-xviii) give us one of the earliest references to a Bishop, in 1136, but names him "Bishop of Breifne," while, at the historic Synod of Kells, in 1152, one of the Prelates present was Tuathal O'Connachtaigh (O'Conaty), Bishop of Ui-Briuin. Nearly a century later the *Annals of Loch Cé* chronicle the death of "Flann O'Connachtaigh, Bishop of Ui-Briuin," in 1231, whose successor, Congal Mac Idhneoil, died early in 1250, described by these same annalists as "Bishop of the Breifne." It is of interest to note that as early as 1250 a royal licence was asked by the Dean and Chapter of Kilmore to elect a Bishop "vacant by the resignation of Congal, late Bishop" (May 27, 1280), which is duly recorded in the Patent Rolls (34 Hen. iii m.5.) A similar royal licence was obtained in 1286 on the death of Bishop Simon O'Ruairc, and there is an entry on the Patent Rolls of the election of Brother Maurice, Abbot of Kells, as Bishop of Kilmore (Tirburnensis), on October 13, 1286 (14 Ediv. I. m.4.)

Richard O'Reilly was appointed Bishop of Kilmore in 1306, and we find several letters written to him by Archbishop Sweetman of Armagh in 1366 and 1367. He was excommunicated by the Primate for a serious offence, but was absolved formally by Master Thomas O'Sheridan, acting for the Primate's Commissary (William O'Farrelly, Coarb of St. Moedhoc) on January 15, 1368, and this submission was "sealed with the common seal of the bishop and clergy"—(*Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweetman*, ed. by Lawlor, R.I.A., 1911.) Probably the matrix of the seal used on this occasion is that which is now in the British Museum, an impression of which was shown at the last Meeting of the Breifne Antiquarian Society (v.p. 31.) Bishop O'Reilly died in 1369, according to the *Annals of Loch Cé*, which describes him as "Bishop of the Breifne." (II. p. 43.)

John O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore, seems to have got into trouble with the Roman authorities in 1388, and in the following year Thomas de Rushook, O.P., the exiled Bishop of Chichester, was translated to Kilmore by Pope Urban VI., but was unable to get hold of the temporalities* The crux was solved by the death of both Bishops in the same year (1393), and *the Chapter* elected Nicholas Mac Brady, Rector of Cuil Brighdein (Castle-

*Cf. I.E.R., Sep. 1920.

terra), as Bishop. This election was confirmed by the Pope, and the Bishop-Elect went to Rome for Consecration, the ceremony being performed on August 27, 1395.

Bishop Mac Brady had not a bed of roses during his episcopate, and he was involved in much litigation, both secular and ecclesiastical. He was also in financial difficulties, and it was only on January 12, 1407, that he completed his payment of the taxes due to the Holy See. To make matters worse, David O'Farrelly, Rector of the Church of St. Brigid of Disertfyuchil (Knockbride), went to Rome at the close of 1408, and, having announced that the See of Kilmore was vacant, had himself appointed and Consecrated as Bishop of Kilmore on March 26, 1409, promising to pay the accustomed taxes.

From the Register of Archbishop Fleming we learn that on July 9, 1409, Bishop Mac Brady was cited to a visitation at Drogheda, as was also "David, claiming to be Bishop." Naturally, David's claim was scouted, and his appointment was subsequently annulled.

Bishop Mac Brady was present at the Provincial Council held on October 12, 1411, at Drogheda. No other remarkable event is chronicled during his episcopate, and he died in 1420, having as successor, Donal O'Gowan.

It would appear that there was no burning desire on the part of the Chapter of Kilmore to elect a successor to Bishop Mac Brady, and hence Pope Martin V., having taken counsel with the Cardinals, selected Donal O'Gowan (Smith), perpetual Vicar of the parish church of Ballintemple, to be Bishop of Kilmore, on August 13, 1421. From whatever cause, Dr O'Gowan was still Bishop-Elect, in April, 1423, but evidently he was consecrated ere the close of said year. His episcopate was uneventful, and he resigned in 1444.

Andrew Mac Brady was provided as Bishop of Kilmore on March 9, 1444, and to him is due the conversion of the parish church of St. Felimy, Kilmore, into a Cathedral Church, in 1454. Having erected the said church into cathedral status, and placed in it 13 Canons, he sought and obtained the sanction of Pope Nicholas V. for same, but as the Pope died before the Bull was expedited, Pope Calixtus III., issued a Bull, confirming that of his predecessor on April 20, 1455.

Bishop Mac Brady died early in 1455, and was succeeded by Thady Magauran, O.S.A., Prior of Drumlane, who had gone to Rome on business, and who was there consecrated, being also given the Priory *in commendam*. His provision is dated July 11, 1455, and he personally paid the Papal tax on July 20. Bishop Mac Gauran was present at a Provincial Council held by Archbishop Bale, at Drogheda, in June, 1460.

An intruded Bishop is recorded by Ware and by Cotton,

namely, Fearsithe Mac Duibhne (Mac Givney), who died on November 26, 1464. The *Annals of the Four Masters* give his obit as follows:—"The Age of Christ, 1464, Fearsithe Mac Duibhne, Bishop of the two Breifnys died."

I have not succeeded in locating the death of Bishop Mac Gauran, but his successor was provided on May 17, 1465, and in the Brief of appointment the See is said to be vacant by the death of Thady, thus passing over Fearsithe, and his successor was John O'Reilly, Abbot of Kells, who was privileged to be consecrated by any bishop of his choice, and he appears to have been consecrated early in 1467. Ware tells us that Bishop O'Reilly was alive on May 16, 1470, but he was unable to find the date of his death.

Cormac Mac Gauran was provided to the See of Kilmore on November 4, 1476, but, from whatever cause, Thomas Mac Brady was appointed on October 20, 1480. Singular to relate, both these bishops presented themselves at a Synod in 1489, and again at the Provincial Council of Dublin, in 1495, and both were styled "Episcopi Kilmorensis." From Papal documents (Register of Pope Julius II., Anno 9, lit. 4) it appears that the Holy See finally decided against the claims of Cormac Mac Gauran, O.S.A., Prior of Drumlane, and adjudged that Thomas Mac Brady was the legitimate ruler of the See of Kilmore.

However, the death of Bishop Mac Brady, in 1511, did not end the dispute, although, according to the *Four Masters* this Prelate was "a paragon of wisdom and piety," and died, on his way to consecrate a church, at Dromahair, County Leitrim, in the 67th year of his age, being interred in the Franciscan Friary of Cavan. On the appointment of Dermot O'Reilly, on June 3, 1512, Cormac Mac Gauran again put in his claim, but the Pope confirmed the appointment and dismissed the appeal of Cormac, who died five months later, and who is lauded by the *Four Masters*.

Bishop O'Reilly, according to Ware, withdrew to Swords, Co. Dublin, in 1519, and died there in 1529.

On June 22,1530, on the nomination of Henry VIII. the Pope provided Edmund Nugent, Prior of Tristernagh Priory, Co. Westmeath, as Bishop of Kilmore, with permission to retain his priory *in commendam*. In 1538 this temporising Prelate agreed to surrender his Priory, and on March 20, 1540-1, he was promised a pension of £26 13s 4d yearly for life payable out of the revenues of Tristernagh. No doubt, the surrender of his Priory in 1538 was regarded as evidence of his heterodoxy, and accordingly on November 5, 1540, the Pope provided John Mac Brady, of the Diocese of Kilmore, to the See, with permission to retain his parochial church of St. Patrick's, Kildrumferton (Crosserlagh).

Although Bishop Nugent is said, by Ware, to have died in the reign of Queen Mary [1553-1558] it is certain that his death occurred about the middle of October, 1550. He held the See from 1530 to 1540, and, although Dr Mac Brady became in the latter year *de jure* Bishop of Kilmore, yet he allowed his predecessor to enjoy the spiritualities and temporalities of the bishopric, without any interference, contenting himself with the revenues of his parish church of Cavan. Bishop Nugent never renounced the Catholic Church, and cannot by any means be regarded as heretical, but he temporised, merely acknowledging Henry VIII. as ruler in temporals, and he died in communion with the Holy See, living in retirement like his predecessor.

Curiously enough, Bishop Mac Brady is regarded by all writers as in full communion with the See of Rome, and yet, from a letter written by the Lord Deputy (St. Leger) and members of the Irish Privy Council, on October 28, 1550, announcing the death of Bishop Nugent, it is stated that Dr Mac Brady "did not only surrender his Bulls to be cancelled, but had permitted the late Bishop quietly to enjoy the same." It may be necessary to explain that the surrender of the Bulls was by no means a sign of schism or heresy for, as the late Monsignor O'Laverty definitely put it in his valuable *Diocese of Down and Connor* (Vol 5, p. 293), "it was quite customary for Bishops, against whom there was not the least suspicion of heresy, or schism, to surrender to the Crown their Bulls as a purely civil ceremony, which secured to the canonically appointed Bishop the peaceful possession of the temporalities of his See."

Bishop Mac Brady had his temporalities duly restored by the Crown, like his predecessors, in 1551, and retained his bishopric till his death in 1559. His orthodoxy cannot be questioned any more than that of Bishop Nugent, and in the Bull of Provision of his successor, the See of Kilmore is said to be "vacant by the death of John Mac Brady of happy memory." His successor was Dr. Hugh O'Sheridan, a Canon of Raphoe, who ruled Kilmore from 1560 till his death in 1579. Here I pause for the present—with the intention, at a future date, of continuing an account of the episcopal succession in Kilmore from 1560.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

BOOKS ON LEITRIM HISTORY.

The following reply from a distinguished Professor of History, since deceased, to a query on the subject of the sources of the History of Leitrim was received by one of our members who has kindly permitted its publication:—

November 28th.

. . . . . There is, indeed, plenty of material for the work, but very little has been accomplished. You cannot hope to buy many books on Leitrim, for little has been written, but why not spend a week up here (Dublin) near libraries and bring back heaps of notes and some of the old books I shall mention to you?

Begin, then, with Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of 1837. Then add to that the account of the various Leitrim parishes in Mason's Parochial Survey, 3 vols. 1810, with Dr Reeves' Columba where Dr Reeves treats of Leitrim in connection with St. Columba. But I forgot that you only want Leitrim after Cromwell. Well, in Marsh's Library we have a large thick volume of MSS., giving an account of the Plantation of Leitrim and Longford, called "Royal Grants." You can purchase at McGhee's "Henry's Tour of Lough Erne," A.D. 1730, edited by King, for 2s 6d, giving an account of a good deal of Leitrim about 1680.

Pocock's "Tour Round Ireland" in 1752 tells a good deal about it near Bundoran. This, however, is out of print. Now in the R.I.A. the Ordnance Survey letters in manuscript about the county is a mine of information about every parish written by O'Donovan about 70 years ago. Then Sick's Eccles. Directory in its account of the diocese of Kilmore has a lot about it and references to authorities which you will find nowhere else. The Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls for the last 30 years have a good deal about the antiquities of the county and changes of property in it. These you can buy at Hodges and Figgis at about 1s per volume on an average. Rev. Caesar Otway's "Tour in Connaught" about 1830 is interesting. The life of Carolan, the poet of 1700, has a long account of it. The History of Dissenting Methodism, etc., in the county could also be traced by a reference to the authorities about Irish Methodism by Crookshank. But time would fail to tell of the authorities for the Arigna district of the coal mines. . . . . .

G. T. STOKES.

A BIG DAY IN BELTURBET.

By An Scolaire Bocht.

I have sought in vain for a complete record of the Honorary Freemen of the Borough of Belturbet. Here and there in the general Minute Book of the Corporation one comes across incidental references to them; but if, as is likely, a separate register of the names was kept it has been lost.

We are therefore without any direct information as to the number of Honorary Freemen, the circumstances under which the honour was conferred, and whether any particular ceremony was attached to the event.

In one instance only does the Minute Book break silence. It records that, on December 31st, 1773, no less than four Honorary Freemen were admitted. The entry gives in each case the resolutions acompanying the honour. We could have wished them a little more definite in the details. Are we correct in assuming that the Lord Lieutenant actually paid the borough a visit in person? Does the presence of his private secretary imply that the visit was one formally paid on some great public occasion? Or was he merely paying a visit to his kinsman (son?) the Honourable William, who quite clearly was commanding the garrison in Belturbet at the moment, and did the Corporation avail themselves of the opportunity which his presence gave them of adding his distinguished name to the Corporation roll? We have not had an opportunity of enquiring into the relationship between Earl Harcourt, the Honourable William and the Honourable Harcourt Neineham (Newenham); but we have endeavoured in vain, to discover whether any event occurred locally in 1773 of sufficient importance to justify a visit "ad hoc.".

We are completely out of patience with the Town Clerk of the time. His negligence on this occasion would seem to show that his yearly "sallery"—of £2—paid sixmonthly—would never have been sanctioned if the town accounts had been audited. Could he not—after an interval of a week say—have given us an inkling as to the manner in which Belturbet dealt with this stupendous occasion? The man had clearly no soul. We turn over the page in the expectation that we are going to learn something about it all to find him in the midst of the yearly accounts detailing such an important matter as an expenditure of 2s 2d paid "for extraordinary expenses in moveing the ladder to different points." In good truth we almost lose sight of the pomp and ceremony of the Lord Lieutenant's procession in a vain attempt to visualise that of the ladder.

Extract from Minute Book of Belturbet Corporation.

At a court held December 31st, 1773.

"To his Excellency, Simon, Earl Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant General and general Governor of Ireland, the Provost, Burgesses and Freemen of Belturbet herewith present the Freedom of the Corporation in Testamony of the high opinion and veneration they entertain of his Patriotic Virtues and Eminent Abilitys through which the government of this Kingdom has been established in Firmness, Moderation and Integrity confirmed by National Confidence and Universal Esteem!"

"To the Right Honourable John Blaquirere, Esq., Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, the Provost, Burgesses and Freemen of Belturbet herewith present the Freedom of this Corporation in Remembrance of his Excellent Discipline in Military Command and in testamony of his Patriotic Conduct and Abilitys wherein Cander and Perspicacity *has* been so eminently distinguished."

At the same court as last the Freedom of the Borough was presented to the Honourable William Harcourt, Lieut.-Colonel of the 16th Regiment of Dragoons 'in grateful remembrance of his Exemplary Conduct, when quartered in this town where proved (sic) that the Martial Fire of a soldier is not unconsistant with the Feelings of Humanity and the Modest Grace of a Gentleman.'

And also at the same court "to the Hon. Harcourt Neineham (Newenham?) in testamony of their esteem and respect for his Manly Virtues and Stedy Principles, the Character of True Nobility, the Blessings of Private Society and the Guardians of the Public Good."

The wording of the last has grown confused towards its conclusion. Still, four of them in the one day! Could two pounds per annum fail to be affected by the greatness of the occasion?

The resolutions are all signed by the reigning Provost, Laurence Tanner, who writes a fine free hand.

Laurence Tanner held the Provostship for one year only, 1772-1773. He died 8 years afterwards during the Provostship of the Rev. Brinsley Nixon, a year before the Corporation embarked upon its "Magnum Opus," the building of the Market House.

AN SCOLAIRE BOCHT.

THE BATTLE OF CAVAN, 11th FEB., 1690.

A brief account of the Battle of Cavan is contained in the principal manuscript, entitled "A Light to the Blind," preserved at Killeen Castle in the Earl of Fingall's collection. The MS. is dated 1711. It is anonymous, but not improbably it was written by one Nicholas Plunkett, an eminent lawyer of the time. A great part of it, edited and annotated by John (afterwards Sir John) T. Gilbert, is printed in the Tenth Report, Appendix, Part V. (1885) of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The portion of it in this publication fills close on 100 pages. "The work," states the editor, "is the production of an earnest advocate of the Stuart cause."

Partly for themselves, and partly to draw our members' attention to the above-named Commission's Reports, which are both valuable and easily obtainable, we give the extracts. They may be seen at pages 128 and 141 in the volume mentioned.

"But in a month before this there happened a small fight at Cavan on the frontiers of Ulster between the loyalists [followers of James II.] and the rebels [Williamites] Mareschal Schomberg, dessigning to streighten the Irish quarters on the borders of the North, ordered Brigadier Wolsely* to take a party of Enniskilleners and of English souldiers and marche to Cavan, the head of that county, and fix there. The King [James II.] being informed thereof, sent from Dublin his commands to Brigadier Nugent to march to the said Cavan with 800 men from the countyes of Westmeath and Longford; and at the same tyme his Majesty enjoyned the Duke of Berwick to marche from the county of Dublin with the like quota to the same place, in order to hender the enemy from gaineing ground. Both the royal cores for the most part arrived at the open town of Cavan on the 10th February. They were all foot, except a troop or two of horse. Brigadier Wolsely came to the place on the 11th in the morning with 700 foot and 300 horse and dragoons. The Duke of Berwick, commander in Chief, being alarmed, and not well prepared, drew however his men out of the town to an open ground: by which he gave an advantage to the enemye, who was come to attack him. For the enemy seeing that posture, he placed his foot within the hedges and ditches of the avenues of the town; and so took the defensive. The King's forces being divided into two wings, assaulted the rebells within their fences. The charge being given and maintained smartly, a party of Irish hors broake another of the enemyes. But the left wing of the royalists was so overpowered by fighting at such an inequality,

* This was Richord, son of Sir C. Wolsely, of Staffordshire, and ancestor of Field-Marshal Viscount Wolsely who died in 1913 (Burke's Peerage.)

that they were forced to retire into a fort, that was near them. The right fighting at the like disadvantage, retreated also thither. By which the rebells gained the field. Of the royal party there were about 200 killed; amongst whom was Brigadier Nugent, much regretted for his bravery. So was Adjutant Geoghegan; and Captain Stritch; and a few other officers. There were ten officers made prisoners; of which were Captain William Nettervil, Captain Daniel O'Neill, Captain O'Bryen, and Captain George Macgee. Of the enemyes there was slain Major Trahern, Captain Armstrong, Captain Maio, and near 50 privat men; and about 60 wounded. Brigadier Wolsely returned to his own quarters, haveing first burnt the town of Cavan, not being able to keep it, because the castle was in the possession of the Irish." p. 128.

. . . . . .

"The loss of Croom-castle fight was caused by mistaking the word, that the Commanding Officer of the Irish gave; by which the strength of the Lord Mountcashel's army was drawn from the field. The looseing of the Battle of Cavan was occasioned by ordering the Irish to attack the enemyes within ditches and hedges"; p. 141.

The fort to which the Duke of Berwick's soldiers retired was most probably O'Reilly's castle. This castle on "Tullach-Mongain" (now Tullymongain) hill is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster as far back as the year 1401. It is also referred to in the Cavan Charter of 1611. At the time of the battle, 80 years later, it must have been still a place of considerable strength. Very likely it covered the present Fair Green, but not a trace of it is to be seen now.

The description of the engagement given in Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary" (1837) differs considerably from that in "A Light to the Blind." In the main thing both agree, namely, in the result. As in the case of a much more famous battle five months later it is fairly manifest that the courage and generalship of the respective commanders had a large share in that result.

Lewis states that "human bones have been found in great numbers on the side of the hill overhanging the town, where the battle took place." This would indicate that according to the local tradition existing a hundred years ago the site of the battle is between the Main Street and the Fair Green on the Ballinagh side. Wolsely's forces came in from Belturbet, most likely by the Keadue Lane, which was then the only road in that direction.

CROMWELL IN CAVAN.

The Dictionary just mentioned was published in London in 1837. In treating of Cavan town it states, referring to Cromwell, that "till very lately a house was standing in the principal street in which he is said to have resided for several weeks." Where in the Main Street the house, so distinguished, was, we have failed to find out. The tradition died out long ago. It is no great loss. It was a false one. Cromwell's itinerary in Ireland from his landing at Ringsend near Dublin on the 15th* August, 1649, till his setting sail from Youghal back again for England on the succeeding 29th of May, has been carefully traced. (See, for instance, *Cromwell in Ireland* by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J.) He went to Drogheda. No mistake about that. Perhaps, too, he went a bit higher up along the coast as far as Dundalk. At all events there is a voucher for it in a Dundalk story which needs his personal presence; a well-told, if not a too-convincing, story of a Royalist Plunkett, ancestor of the present Baron of Louth, wounding him there badly—in the nose.

It is got over in D'Alton's History of this Louth town, with many details to add verisimilitude, that as Cromwell was watering his horse at the Dundalk ford Plunkett came along, saw his chance and took it. He "flung his naked blade at Oliver's head and gashed his prominent nose."

Then he made off. He made a good run for it, knowing the district, but at last was captured by the body-guard. Then he was brought before the Commander-in-Chief and the captors outvied one another in suggesting a proper cruel death as befitted such a heinous crime. But Cromwell left the choice to himself.

"How would you like to be put to death?" he asked, and his face muffled up.

"An it please your Highness," the prisoner answered, "with my good sword in my hand and two of your best officers before me ready to execute your orders."

The reply so pleased the soldier Cromwell that he spared his life on condition that there should always be an Oliver in the Plunkett family.

We did not like to tantalise the reader by cutting the story short. It is a good one. It would be a pity to scrutinise it too closely for historical value.

In Cavan and Leitrim the Old Christmas "Mummers" (now, we fear, no more) always referred in their rhymes to this physical feature of Cromwell. In their bright little drama Cromwell, unmistakable by his facial make-up, used to introduce himself in a gay little stanza which began something like this:—

"Here am I, and as everybody knows
I'm Oliver Cromwell with my copper nose."

The make-up was quite correct. Sir Walter Scott's mother survived until 1820. Chambers' *Book of Days* (1-71) relates that she had met a person who had seen Cromwell make his entry into Edinburgh in 1650 after the victory of Dunbar. "All I remarked about him," said this individual, "was the extraordinary size of the nose."

There is a much better-supported tradition that Cromwell came in person to Trim in Meath. But these are certainly the nearest points to Cavan he ever touched. That during his busy nine months in Ireland he found time to settle down for "several weeks" in the town of Cavan is, on the face of it, most unlikely. That he was here but the industrious investigations of his movements failed to trace his whereabouts for so long, equally improbable.

Lewis' Dictionary is a compilation mainly of information supplied by local resident gentlemen. (See its Preface, p. iii.) In Ireland local histories were seldom to be had. They were fewer in 1837 than even now. Mistakes were inevitable. Throughout County Cavan, at Muff, for instance, at Crover Castle in Lough Sheelin, at Cloughoughter, Tonymore and Trinity Island, you will indeed yet hear from those living about that "yon old Castle," or "yon old buildin' was battered down by Cromwell with his copper nose." You may be shown even the hill on which he planted his cannon, nay, the old lane by which his troops marched to it, still called, you will be told, Cromwell's road. Don't believe it for all that. Cromwell did a lot, but he left Cavan alone.

In a certain work, *Cambrensis* we think, there is a chapter unique for its brevity on snakes in Ireland. The chapter consists of the one sentence:—"There are no snakes in Ireland." Cromwell's personal exploits in this county may be told in full detail with equal brevity:—Cromwell never was in Cavan.

*Ware alone of a dozen authorities we have looked up gives the 14th.

MUFF.

Muff, a village between Bailieborough and Kingscourt, is noted for a "battle" which, as it took place early in the last century, is rather recent to engage the attention of an antiquary. This is another place in Cavan to which Lewis transports his ubiquitous Cromwell. Writing in 1837 he says:—"There are here ruins of an ancient castle, said to have been destroyed by

Cromwell." Up to 25 years ago about 30 feet of a gable was still standing. This last vestige of it has since been torn down to build labourers' cottages. Hardly a trace of it now remains.

Local tradition states that this was an O'Reilly Castle, and confirmation of this is found in the Annals of Ulster. Under the year 1502, they record that O'Reilly's son, Donnall of Muff, was slain in an inroad the O'Reillys made on Philip Maguire's territory. Tradition further has it that there was a line of O'Reilly strongholds from the verge of Farney in Monaghan to Lake Sheelin.

A notable horse fair has been held annually at Muff (Magh —the Plain) from time immemorial on the 12th August. It is its one and only fair during the year. It was so over a hundred years ago. Sir Charles Coote in his *Statistical Survey of Cavan*, "drawn up in the year 1801," gives a table of fairs then held in the county. Looking to the yearly number for each place, "Swanlingbar" would head the list with nine; Ballyhaise and "Ballynagh" had six each, nicely distributed over the year; Doobally two; Largy four, and so on. The table accounts for the irregularity in the dates of the still existing Cavan "old fairs." But very many of them are gone long ago. Muff alone is seen to have had one, and only one, and Muff's remains and is still held on the same date, the 12th day of August. The "green," at the junction of five roads, is dominated by the site of the O'Reilly Castle which stood on an eastern spur of Loughanleagh mountain.

Muff fair is very ancient. Not improbably it goes back long and long before the time of the O'Reillys. Locally it is called The Patron Fair, and in times not very remote it lasted a whole week. There is a well, once considered a holy well, beside the green. Around Loughanleagh the Sunday succeeding the fair is still the great day of the year; a "pattern" is held on the mountain with the usual amusements, common to such out-door gatherings, and bonfires to boot at the winding-up. A local gentleman tells us it is Bilberry Sunday, but we think there is far more in it than this name suggests. The little festivities at the spot from year to year, the well, the term Patron Fair, and the week's continuance, point to an ancient Aenagh, not impossibly pre-Patrician in its origin. Not very unlikely, granting it goes so far back, here as elsewhere the pagan rites were Christianized and the celebrations were connected with honour paid to some local saint now forgotten. Possibly his feast in Christian times originated it all. Searching through old books and martyrologies has barely resulted, however, in a conjecture, not worth giving, as to whom he might have been. Perhaps some local member will throw light on the subject? It is worth investigating.

KILGOLAGH.

Kilgolagh, another small Cavan village, is also remarkable for its two ancient horse fairs. These Cavan Carrignagats are held annually on January 17th and November 27th. Kilgolagh is at the south-western point of both Lake Sheelin and the county itself. It is separated from the village of Finnea in Westmeath just as Blacklion—or The Black, as this town is locally called—in Cavan's extreme north-west is from Belcoo in Fermanagh, merely by a long bridge. But the seven arched—originally nine arched—one that spans the broad Inny, as it flows from Lake Sheelin to Lake or Lough Kinale, forming the sole pass across the neck of land, a mile in breadth, between these two sheets of water, is the celebrated Bridge of Finnea. It is noted for being one of the very oldest bridges in Ireland still in daily use, as well as, as everybody knows, for its heroic and successful defence on the 5th August, 1646 by Myles the Slasher against the English-Scottish forces under General Monroe. On it, if tradition speaks true, Myles fought his last fight, and his best. Whether he died on the bridge or lived to die some years later at Châlons-Sur-Marne in France, is a big controverted question which we hope some member will take up and settle for us.

Both Kilgolagh and Muff are traditionally said to have been O'Reilly markets. In olden wars the O'Reillys were certainly famous for their horse regiments. The English Camden (1551-1623) states of them that they were "not long since particularly distinguished for their cavalry." There are no tolls at Muff, but there are at Kilgolagh. At the latter place a show-board, conspicuously hanging at the custom-gap, informs you as you enter that the authorization for exacting such is "George the II. Letters Patent and registered with the Clerk of the Peace for the County Cavan pursuant to the 57th George the III. chap. 108 Sec. 7, to Richard O'Reilly, Bally Jamesduff." Duly impressed by a perusal of this proclamation, and humbled by your inability to quite understand it, there should be small reluctance in paying the Kilgolagh tolls.

A still older and perhaps equally awe-inspiring Kilgolagh authorization for both fairs and tolls, engrossed in Latin on parchment, and said to date back to the time of Queen Elizabeth herself—the fairs themselves go back a long, long way further—was lately in the possession of Mr Robinson, Solicitor, Co. Longford. Very likely this charter is still in existence.

Besides the two fairs mentioned this village 120 years ago had two others, one on Patrick's day and another on 26th April. One of these (we are not sure which) was exclusively for selling and buying yarn. And it was needed. In the years preceding 1801, according to Coote (Statistical Survey of Cavan, 1802—p. 275) nearly £100,000 worth of linen alone was annually manu-

factured in County Cavan. The same authority gives, too, the location and proprietors' names of the twelve "County Bleach-Greens." They were capable of dealing with 91,000 webs during the year, and a single web or piece he cannot rate at less than 30s.

The Cavan markets, he further states, "are only remarkable for the sale of yarn, flax, and webs." This great home-industry died out generations ago. The dozen Bleach-Greens are to-day as deserted as our old forts, and may now be fairly classed along with them among our antiquities. There is no longer any use for a yarn market at Kilgolagh or anywhere else within the county. They are all over like the fair of Carman.

—o—

TUAIM DRECUIN.

By An Scolaire Bocht.

There are few places in Breifne referred to more frequently in the old manuscripts than Tuaim Drecuin—Drecon's burial mound—which in ancient times was clearly a well-known landmark. Beyond the permissible assumption that Drecon was a Chief of note we can hazard no guess as to his identity or the period at which he lived. The latter must have been very remote, for we find that 1500 years *before* the Christian era Eochy, King of Ireland, won the battle of Tuacin Drecuin in Breifne (Four Masters sub anno) which *may* mean that the name was a prehistoric one.

Interest attaches to Tuaim Drecuin chiefly from the famous lay University which flourished there in the 7th century of our era. Cennfaelad, a youthful warrior of more than ordinary promise, was dangerously wounded at the Battle of Moy Rath (A.D. 634), his brain protruding. He was sent to Tuaim Drecuin to be under the medical care of Saint Bricin. The Saint, if the historian is to be trusted, performed upon him an operation unique in the history of science. He cut away part of his brain —that part "with which one forgets things."

The chronicler regards the operation on Cennfaelad as one of the most remarkable results of a battle which was not without making history in other directions, and he gives us a precise account of the wonderful institution at which it took place. It was a lay University with three constituent Schools of Law, Classics, and Humanity; and was situated at the meeting place of three roads, a school being located on each road.

During his convalescence Cennfaelad rambled at will during the day from one school to another. Naturally, as might be expected from one who could not forget, he was not long in picking up *all* that was to be learned there, and what he picked up during the day he set down on "white tablets" at night. As a

further natural consequence he forsook the sword for the pen and became the most learned man of his time writing many tracts on different departments of knowledge. His treatise on law—prefixed to Cormac Mac Art's Book of Achaill—is extant. Cennfaelad's late history is connected with the parish of Derryloran (Cookstown.)

Save that his name is preserved in the name of the townland of "Slievebricken" nothing is remembered locally of Saint Bricin. The reference to him in the Felire of Aengus shows that he was a famous missionary. The inference from "Briccin of the many conquests who was called forth from Ireland," as the Felire puts it, seems to be that he subsequently laboured in missionary fields abroad.

Hitherto, beyond the general equation of Tuaim Drecuin to the parish of Tomregan, no attempt has been made, as far as I am aware, to locate the spot.

In the Down Survey Map of the Barony of Loughtee we find one townland in "Tomregan" parish (so spelled) given as "Tomergan." The map in question has several faults in orientation. I did not, therefore, when I first examined it, regard the fact as one of any great importance, more especially as I had conceived the idea that Tuaim Drecuin would be more probably found in Tullyhaw on the Fermanagh border. However, in consulting the Maps of the Escheated Estates (1609) I found Tomregan given in exactly the same position—in the little tongue of Lower Loughtee which inserts itself between Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco Baronies.

On making local enquiries I found that there was quite a strong tradition as to there having been a monastery, with which St. Dallan, and not Saint Bricin, was associated. The actual spot in which the University was situated seems to be in Mullynagolman townland, in a field at the back of Mr Armstrong's house. There are absolutely no traces of any building at present, but I am informed that in ploughing the field there have been found distinct traces of the foundations of an oblong building and a round one. My actual visit of enquiry was made in the dark after a heavy day's work elsewhere, and I was unable to proceed as closely as I would have wished with my examination of the spot.

Some months subsequently to my first visit I arranged to go back with Mr Henry Morris, who, as he had been making an attempt to trace Cennfaelad's Cookstown history, was equally interested in Tuaim Drecuin with myself. I was unfortunately unable to keep my engagement. But Mr Morris, who had previously examined the evidence in my possession visited the place by himself, and expresses himself as confident that my location is correct.

AN SCOLAIRE BOCHT.

ANCIENT CROSSES IN BREIFNY.

A note on ancient crosses in Breifny must necessarily be short, for little is to be said. In the Journal of the R.S.A.I. for June, 1907, there is given by Mr Henry S. Crawford, M.R.I.A., a full list of the early Irish Crosses still in existence. The article fills 38 pages and mentions and describes all of them that are known—about 200. But in Connacht, Leitrim stands at the foot of the list; it has merely one. Ulster has 50, of which Donegal has 17; but again, Cavan is the poorest county in Ulster and has not even one. So that Tullaghan Cross, Co. Leitrim, is the sole representative of the class for the two counties recorded in that exhaustive list. Neither is there another cross in the parts of the Diocese of Kilmore outside these two counties.

About 2½ miles of County Leitrim borders Donegal Bay. The little village mentioned stands on that strip. It is about 1½ miles west of Bundoran, a little further on than Duncarbry Castle on the Sligo road. The Cross is still to be seen at Tullaghan. It is a plain Latin one 14 feet high, the head rather small in proportion to the base. It is marked on the Ordnance map.

As to County Cavan Mr Crawford remarks (p. 201):—
I have not heard of any early cross in this county, though three crosses are marked on the Ordnance Maps. Two of these are at Killinkere (Ordnance sheet 33), 12 miles north of Virginia, the first of which, in the townland of Greaghadossan, is not now to be found, while the second, in the townland of Cargagh, is a late cross in the form of a pillar 4 feet high, the top of which is missing. There are traces of an inscription on the shaft.

The third, at Raheever, 2¼ miles north-west of Oldcastle, is the upper part of a plain, rough cross with solid ring, 21 inches across the arms. It does not appear to be ancient.

Another cross, evidently a Market cross, stood in the centre of the town of Cavan. It is indicated on the map of "The Towne of the Cavan," drawn about 1593, that was shown at the Nov. meeting of the Society. Whether at that time it was long there or not, and whether it was a plain cross or was as richly carved as that in Clones or that in the centre of Kells, there are no means at hand for determining. Judging from the sketch in the map it was a plain Latin cross; but the map is very roughly done and goes into few details. What happened this cross afterwards and when it was removed nobody can now say.

Near the village of Killargue in North Leitrim is also a very old cross. It is in a secluded dell and stands over an ancient holy well. It is very rudely made, but not ruder than are some depicted by Mr Crawford.

There may be still many of those early crosses (not cross-scribed slabs) throughout Leitrim and Cavan but unrecorded. We should be very glad to hear of them, no matter how rude they may be.

NOTES ON HISTORIES OF FAMILIES.

In *Notes and Queries*, a literary weekly published by the *Times Publishing Co.*, London, is appearing a series of interesting articles on Irish Family History. They aim only at giving the genealogies, and the information is gathered from Wills, Leases, Vestry Books, old MSS., and documents of that kind that are not easily accessible. The papers of Breifnian interest in the series last year are:—The Keons of Moreagh and Keonbrook, Co. Leitrim in the issues of July 3rd and 10th; the Keons of Killnagross in the same county, July 24th; the Reynolds of Castlefinn and Dromore, Co. Donegal, Aug. 7th; the Hewetsons of Ballyshannon, Aug. 28th. The compiler is Mr H. Fitzgerald Reynolds, of Cardiff. Though living in Wales Mr Reynolds is himself a descendant of Humphry Reynolds (or MacRannall) of Iough Scur, Co. Leitrim, who was High Sheriff of the county in 1620. An exhaustive article on that old Leitrim family may be expected soon.

BREIFNIAN ARTICLES.

The following articles and notes of special interest to the Society are published in the Journal of the R.S.A.I.:—

Shrine of St. Caillin of Fenagh, Illustrated.
By Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. ... July, 1892.

Ancient Chalices. Illustrates and describes the Manorhamilton or Cloonclare Chalice, date 1596.
By the Rev. J. F. M. ffrench, M.R.I.A. ... June, 1898.

Cloughoughter Castle.
By S. K. Kirker, C.E. ... Dec., 1904.

The MacRannalls of South Leitrim.
By Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, C.C. ... June, 1905.

The Arms of the O'Rourkes and the Leitrim Iron Mines—Illustrated.
By Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, C.C. ... June, 1906.

Crannoge in Cuilaghan Lake, between Belturbet and Ballyconnell.
By Thomas Hale ... June, 1907.

Killan Old Church, Bailieborough—Illustrated.
By Thomas Hale ... Dec., 1908.

Loughduff Dolmen—Illustrated.
By Rev Joseph B. Meehan, C.C. ... March, 1909.

Crannoge in Barnagrow Lake, between Cootehill and Shercock.
By Thomas Hale ... Dec., 1910.

Killery and Blacklion Bullans—Illustrated.
By William F. Wakeman ... June, 1913.

Carvings in the Cloisters and Eighteenth Century Grave Slabs at Creevelea Abbey, Co. Leitrim—Illustrated.
By Henry S. Crawford, M.R.I.A. ... Dec., 1916.

The Old Churches of Killesher and Kinawley. (In Ancient Church Sites and Graveyards in County Fermanagh.)
By Lady D. Lowry-Corry ... June, 1919.

Rev. Faithful Teate, Vicar of Ballyhaise in 1641, and his Descendants.
By St. John D. Seymour, B.D. ... June, 1920.

TWO O'REILLY TOMBS AND A PROBLEM.

Kildrumfertin, now usually called Kill, graveyard is in the parish of Crosserlough. It is one of the oldest graveyards still in use in Breifny. It was once a favourite burying place of the O'Reillys, and in it are two of their tombs which are of much interest both historically and otherwise.

Both tombs are to the right-hand side of the enclosure as you enter the gate; and both lie not East and West, but North and South. The one furthest from the entrance will be first described.

THE FIRST TOMB.

This tomb is of a somewhat unusual form. It consists of a vault, solidly constructed of sloping flags, crowned by a rectangular structure. Each side of the rectangle is made of a single cut stone 2ft. 8ins. high. The covering slab or tombstone surmounting them is 7ft. 2ins. by 3ft. 6ins. by 5 ins. in depth or thickness, its edges tastefully modelled in an ogee pattern. There is no difficulty in reading the inscription, and the following is an exact copy:—

Here Lieth Intombed the Body of Colonel John O'Reilly who was elected Knight of the Shier for the County of Cavan in the year 1689 & departed this life 17 day of Febry $17\frac{17}{16}$ & left 5 sons & 2 daughters

A Coat of Arms is incised at the head of the epitaph. The central device is the open right hand. This, too, is the device

on the seal of Sir John O'Reilly who was knighted in 1583 by Queen Elizabeth* Its matrix, found in County Cavan, is now in the Royal Irish Academy collection. As it is hoped there will be in an early number of the Journal an article devoted to local seals and devices nothing further need here be said about them. The motto underneath the Coat of Arms reads:—

DUM SPIRO SPERO.

Its precise English equivalent is, While I breath I hope; but a free translation would give, As long as there's life there's hope. Later created baronets—for instance, Dillon of Meath, Cotter of Cork, Collet of Kent, etc—have borrowed or adopted this O'Reilly motto. And it is a good one. It may be taken as expressing on the part of the O'Reillys and the rest of them a fixed determination that never, no matter how dark and difficult the circumstances, would they despair or accept defeat.

The Parliament to which Colonel John is declared to have been elected was James II.'s Irish one, sometimes termed the Patriot Parliament. This chance record, accordingly, helps to supply the only genuine omission occurring in the list of Members for Cavan County as set out in a previous page of this Journal.

The doubt displayed as to whether the year of death was 1716 or 1717 is noteworthy. But its interest cannot be appreciated, nor can the correct year be determined, without touching on the big question of chronology.

The Julian Calendar originated with Julius Caesar in B.C. 46 and lasted unchanged till A.D. 1582. It was at last amended by Pope Gregory XIII., and so amended was promulgated in 1582. This reformed or Gregorian calendar was soon introduced into most European countries. It is now in use everywhere throughout Christendom, Russia excepted, and is the calendar we all follow. But England did not accept it, at least formally, till 1752. Besides dropping 11 days out of that year, the change made in the English calendar by the Act of 1751 embraced another point. The legal year thenceforth was to begin on 1st January, not, as previously, on the 25th March. For some time after 1752 it was customary to give two dates for the period intervening between 1st January and 25th March, that of the old and that of the new year, as February 1754-5. This is quite common in old documents. The greater of the two final figures indicates the date "new style," and the lesser that of "old style." Hence it is apparent that according to our modern reckoning the year of O'Reilly's demise was 1717.

But, it will be observed, the double date on this tombstone is fully 34 years before the time of the English Parliament's sanction of the new calendar. Presuming that the tomb was put up soon after the death, this seems to suggest an earlier popular

* F.F.M. sub anno.

adoption in this country.* The English popular usage certainly even then began the year as now. On the other hand, however, the date on the second epitaph will be seen to afford no confirmation to this theory. It is "old style"; simply Feb. 1716 and no compromise. Whatever it imports had the Colonel departed this life, not in February but on or after 25th March, the year would have been given plainly as 1717. There would have been no need for a double record.

In the public accounts, it may be added, there is still visible an interesting antiquarian feature traceable to these chronological changes. The first day of the financial year is the 5th April, and with that day the reckoning of British annual budgets begins and ends. Under Monthly Notes for April the latest Whitaker's Almanac at hand observes for the 5th. "The Financial year, ... for Imperial purposes ends to-day." It is a survival from past centuries. The conservative Treasury stands where it stood in the times before 1752. It did not even drop the 11 days. Had it, then its New Year's Day would be precisely the same as it used to be in England in olden times, at least for all legal and ecclesiastical purposes, namely, the 25th March.

In the tomb the upright stone that forms the end or foot of the supporting rectangle bears the following inscription:—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THE O'REILLYS OF THE
HOUSE OF
BELTHRASANAGH.

The slab of the vault sloping down from this stone is of concrete, and contains indications of an opening or door. Plainly it has not been touched for a very long time. Both the weathering of the stones and the superior position in the graveyard of this tomb itself would lead one to suppose that it is somewhat older than the one next to be described.

THE SECOND TOMB.

Nine feet from the first tomb is the second little mausoleum. It is of the same pattern but a good deal larger. There is no vault, the sides rest on dead walls.

The height, including the covering slab, is 3 feet; the slab itself 8 feet by 4 feet by 5 inches; the ends not carved in any way but plain-cut.

On the sides there is no engraving. But on the top is the following long inscription:—

*The Irish Parliament, we have authority for saying, did not relinquish the old calendar till 1782; the Scottish Parliament, according to The Encyl. Brit., 11th ed., threw it over in 1600.

Here lyeth the body of Colonel
John O'Reilly who was Elected Knight of
the Shier for the County of Cavan in the
year 1689 he Departed this life the 17th Feb 1716
leaving 5 sons and 2 daughters
Also the body of his eldest son Bryan O'Reilly
Esq late of B in this County who
died the 6th September 1749 aged 72 years
and of Margaret O'Reilly wife to the said Bryan
the 30th November 1755 aged 72 years
on the 4 of Feb 1 5 Myles O'Reilly Esq
late of the City of Dublin eldest son of
the above Bryan Departed this life in
the 68th year of his age and on the 5th of
said Month Saragh O'Reilly his wife in
the 57th year of her age this small token
of Esteem to their Memories was Erected
by John Ahe O'Reilly Esq Dowell
O'Reilly and Nath O'Reilly sons of
the above Myles O'Reilly.

On comparing this inscription with the previous one the reader's first impression will be that some mistake has been made in copying it. But he may at once dismiss that thought from his mind. The second inscription is indeed not an easy one to decipher. But line after line it has been carefully taken down, the spelling strictly adhered to, and even the punctuation marks—or rather want of them—left without change. The blanks indicate words, letters or figures which have defied efforts to make them out.

The identity of the details mentioned in both epitaphs afford a proof, almost mathematically rigid, that one and the same military gentleman is referred to in both cases. Here is a problem that awaits solution. How there can be two sepulchres in the same place to the same Colonel John O'Reilly, we may guess but we can offer no reliable explanation. There is no tradition to guide, and even the difficulties of deciphering had hitherto cloaked the anomaly. Neither can we say in which the body is actually reposing. As to this main fact one of the tombstones must be, let us say, inaccurate.

The Arms on the second memorial flag are quite different from those on the first. The motto displayed beneath them is also different. On the second tombstone the motto is

Fortitudine Prudentia

that is By Bravery [and] By Prudence. It is not a bad motto either. It shows that this Breifny family set store by two cardinal qualities that make for success in life, success in any undertaking, boldness and cautiousness; or, as we may more concretely put it, action and thought.

BOOK REVIEW.

The Antiquities of Leighlin. By Rev. James Coyle, P.P. (Browne and Nolan—1920. 1s 6d.)

An ideal little book, from the antiquary's point of view, has been published by Rev. James Coyle, P.P. Father Coyle treats solely of the antiquities of his own parish, never by any chance going outside of it, unless it be to collar some ill-informed *Annalist's* editor who tries to sneak away from it some bright distinction. "For children," he says in his modest preface, "the home should be the centre of the universe." We are not too sure but it should be so also for even the children of larger growth. The death of an old neighbour affects one more than a revolution in China; and have we not it on authority not to be gainsaid that "the eyes of the fool are always on the ends of the earth?"

At all events Father Coyle concerns himself only with his own centre, and for it he does a great deal. He sets all its old forts aglow with mystery and romance, and shows before he stops that it possesses "a wealth of pious memorials and associations to bind them in chains of loving remembrance with the good men and good women of the past."

While solidly written and full of information, derived from a hundred sources, about castles and moats and holy wells and old cathedrals, all of course belonging to the parish, there is a silver thread of poetry running through the whole work. The story of Dinn Righ in the opening chapter, for instance, would be hard to beat. Dinn Righ was in its glory about 320 B.C. Instead of looking at this very distant past through a telescope as it were, Father Coyle at once transports us back into the midst of it, and we live and move among the men and things of that long, long ago, just as if we were one of themselves. And it is best. A view through a telescope might be forgotten, but of such a visit there is no forgetting.

The carrying back he effects very simply. He was sitting one fine evening, he tells us, on the outer foss of the moat, tired of course after his hard day's work (though he does not say so) and musing over Shakespeare. "A strange uncanny silence brooded over the place, interrupted solely by the soothing sound of the distant waterfall, or the gentle piping of a blackbird close by singing its vesper hymn." These are his words. Then, suddenly, unaccountably, he found himself back in the old; old, times; 2,000 years back! And when he looked about him no transformation scene in a theatre royal could surpass the change he saw on the face of the country. It was covered with a dense forest. The great river he was used to all his life was no longer chained and channeled within its narrow banks, but "swirled

by the very base of Dinn Righ." Up on the moat top "there was a huge house in the shape of a pavilion, made of timber and wicker-work and plaster, painted in vivid colours." It was full of life and activity. And who was just standing beside him peering into his eyes, above all people in the world, but the King of Dinn Righ, King Labraith the Mariner himself? "a gorgeous cloak, clasped before his breast with a brooch of florcated gold, falling from his shoulders and reaching below his knees." On his feet shoes of untanned leather. King Labraith spoke to him most affably, telling him indeed the whole tragedy of his life, and introduced him to the Queen. It happened to be a night of high festival and her Majesty was resplendent in what, we are sure, was her very best, "bright robes of many colours, golden spangles round her arms, and a golden torque around her neck."

Best of all he got an invitation to the banquet. And it was a banquet all out. Besides stews of mutton and roasts of beef, they had venison and game to no end. Each had a small knife, but forks had not yet come into fashion. The implements that for them took the place of forks were not of steel or silver, but of the precious material which, according to a North Leitrim "saga," the Lord of Benbo used for such purposes in his superb palace guarded by grenadiers at the foot of Benbo when he married the Lord Mayor of Dublin's daughter. And they had a home-brewed beer called coirm, mether-fulls of it at each one's elbow, and mead, a drink made of honey, the wine of the gods, in graceful horn goblets. All, he tells us, drank copiously. Then, at the end they had, not lonesome songs and prosy speeches, but had calls for Craftiny, the harper. And Craftiny, the aged minstrel, came forward, "his grey hair made into ringlets to which were attached golden balls," and his music was, of course, golden too.

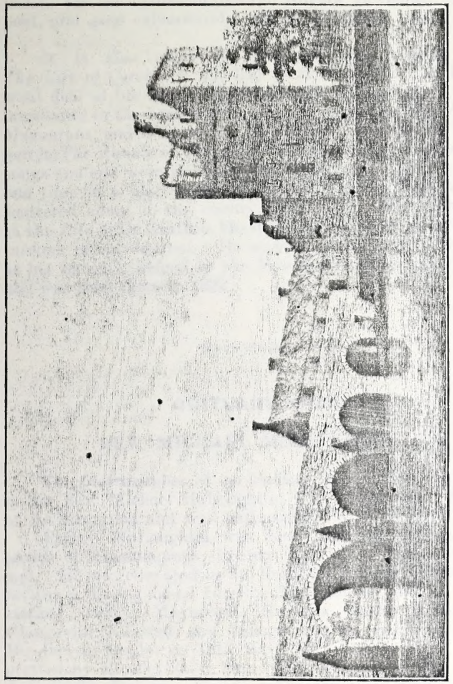
The feast, not unlike our country balls, lasted far into the night. When the King rose all rose with him. Then there was a loud blare of trumpets which——

But at this stage Father Coyle woke up abruptly, and rubbing his eyes found himself still seated on the outer foss of the moat, and Shakespeare sprawling on the ground in the dewy-damp grass at his feet! 'Were we in his shoes, we must confess we would be crying our eyes out all our lives had we wakened up till the banquet was over anyway.

The setting of the story is not unlike Rip Van Winkle, but it goes backward not forward. And it is most carefully done, every assertion solidly buttressed by the soundest of authorities, from Ware to MacNeill.

Intended primarily for his parishioners and his own centre the book, none the less, is both instructive and suggestive to all of us. Though the scenes at times seem fairy ones, the descriptions of dress and manners and hospitality are, for all that, as

BOOK REVIEW



LEIGHLIN BRIDGE AND BLACK CASTLE, CO. CARLOW.
(Through the Courtesy of the Publishers.)

true to the life of the period and as accurate as popular antiquarianism, guided by ripe scholarship, ever aims at. They give one a good general idea of what our great Breifny forts were like a thousand and more years ago; what the forts of Mohill were like; what Daingean an Mhantiagh, which O'Donovan in his O.S. Letters locates "in the parish of Kildrumsheridan near the boundary of Drumgoon," when Gilduff Mantach (that is Gilduff the Gap-toothed) who antedated Raghalach the progenitor of the O'Reillys, lived and ruled there; what Dundavan (old Dun Dil Beann) in Drumlummon; what Shan-rath, before the ancient church—its successor built in 1688 by Sir F. Hamilton in its turn worn out and long in ruins—took possession of the pleasing site, and gave its name to the town of Killeshandra (Kill-a-shan-rath, the Church of the old rath, a pagan rath O'Donovan says); what Dingins fort, on the high hill crest over Dingin's Bridge in the paris of Gowna—for the days of early warfare the most strongly placed fortress we have come across in East Breifny—near the time of its construction, and the piling up of its massive ring mounds, when, as is most probable, the waters of the Erne also "swirled round its base."

Father Coyle's work is a model of what can be done for a parish, the illustrations splendid. Precept is good, example is better. An incumbent, may we say it with all due deference, could do worse than go and do likewise; and, never minding the great big world outside of it, crown with a halo of beauty and interest his own "centre of the universe."

LITERARY NOTES.

Early this year there will be published by the Rev. P. A. Walsh, C.M., Dublin, a book on the oft-debated subject, the authorship of "The Exile of Erin." Father Walsh is a strong advocate for the claims of George Nugent Reynolds, the Leitrim poet, and goes exhaustively into the question.

It is also expected there will soon appear in print *The Life of Carolan*, "the last of the bards." Carolan spent a great deal of his time in Leitrim, and received there unbounded hospitality in the homes of the MacRannals, Peytons, O'Rourkes, Magaurans, and O'Donnels. In Leitrim, as is told by Miss Milligan in *The Annals of the Irish Harpers*, many of his unpublished songs and airs were recovered for Bunting, as many as six at the one time in a place called Killargue. Many more may be still scattered about in the county unrecorded. The writer engaged at the *Life* is Dr Grattan Flood who contributes an article to this number of our Journal. He may be claimed as a Kilmore man, as his father belonged to the Five-mile-bourne near Dromahair, and was born there in 1832.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

REV. MICHAEL McLOUGHLIN, C.C.

The first member of our Society to be called away by death is the Rev. Michael McLoughlin, C.C., Belturbet. He assisted at its formation and was enthusiastic in its support.

Father McLoughlin was born near Drumkeeran, in the parish of Innismagrath, County Leitrim, a little over 40 years ago. He was educated in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, in which he was a distinguished Intermediate student, and in the ecclesiastical College, Maynooth. He was Curate successively in Glangevlin, Kilasnet, and Annagh, and was everywhere beloved. He died in Dublin on 18th May, 1920, after a short illness, regretted by all who knew him. His death is a great loss to the Antiquarian Society. Had he been spared he would undoubtedly have been an energetic worker for it.

It is keenly felt both by the people among whom he ministered, and by his brother priests of Kilmore. With them he was a great favourite, and was admired for the energy and straightforwardness as well as for the simplicity and piety of his character.

LIST OF LIFE MEMBERS AND MEMBERS FOR THE YEAR 1920.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Bigger, F. J., M.R.I.A., Ardrigh, Belfast (Honorary.)

Conlon, M. V., Technical School, Cavan.

Finegan, Most Rev. Patrick, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore, Bishop's House, Cullies, Cavan.
Finlay, Very Rev. Peter, S.J., Milltown Park, Dublin.
Finlay, Very Rev. Thomas A., S.J., 35 Lower Leeson St., Dublin.
Fitzgerald, Lord Walter, Kilkea Castle, Maganey, Co. Kildare.
Flynn, Very Rev. Michael J., St. Michael's, West Derby Rd., Liverpool.

Moore, Right Rev. W. R., D.D., Bishop of Kilmore, See House, Cavan.

O'Reilly, William, R.M., Beechmount, Navan.

MEMBERS.

Acheson, H. W., M.D., Infirmary House, Cavan.
Atkinson, Rev. F. S., M.A., Derryheen Rectory, Cavan.

Baxter, Philip, Ballinagh, Cavan.
Benison, J. A., D.L., Slieve Russel, Ballyconnell, Cavan.
Berry, T. F., C.P.S., Belturbet, Cavan.
Brady, Very Rev. Hugh, P.P., V.F., Crosserlough, Ballyjamesduff, Cavan.
Brady, Rev. Hugh P., Adm., The Presbytery, Cavan.
Brady, P. J., C.E., Broomfield House, Cavan.
Brackley, Mrs I., M.B.E., Drumbar, Cavan.
Burke, Dr., Ballinagh, Cavan.
Burke, Dr., Shercock, Cavan.

Chambers, Thos., The Laurels, Bailieborough.
Clarke, John, M.D., Cavan.
Cole, J. A., M.A., Cavan.
Conroy, Rev. Charles, C.C., New Prospect, Virginia.
Conroy, Rev. Michael, C.C., D.D., The Presbytery, Cavan.
Connolly, Rev. Peter, P.P., Drumreilly Upper, Carrigallen.
Corrigan, Very Rev. Michael Canon, P.P., V.F., Gowna, Cavan.
Corr, Rev. Laurence, C.C., Drumreilly Upper, Carrigallen.
Corr, Rev. Peter, St. Dorothia's, Eatonville, N.J., U.S.A.
Crowe, Rev. E. D. M.A., The Rectory, Cavan.

Dolan, Joseph, M.A., M.R.I.A., Ardee.
Dolan, Rev. Michael, C.C., Drumkilly, Kilnaleck, Cavan.
Donnelly, Rev. F., C.C., The Presbytery, Gowna.
Downey, Daniel, Killyconnan School, Stradone.
Duffy, P., A.R.Sc.I., Annesley Terrace, Cavan.
Dunne, S., A.R.Sc.I., Agricultural College, Cavan.

Eccles, Rev. Robert, P.P., Drumlummon, Granard.

Farrelly, T. M., Co.C., Bailieborough, Cavan.
Fawcett, Gen. W. J., Lecarrow, Spencer Harbour, Carrick-on-Shannon.
Fay, James, B.L., Moyne Hall, Cavan.
Finegan, Rev. Charles, C.C., St. Joseph's, Clondalkin, Dublin.
Finlay, William, Killynebber House, Cavan.
Fitzpatrick, Rev. Daniel, B.D., St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
Fogarty, Thomas, Church St., Cavan.

Galligan, Rev. Henry, C.C., Cootehill, Cavan.
Galligan, Paul, M.P., Drumnalaragh House, Ballinagh, Cavan.
Galt-Gamble, T. E., Cavan.
Gannon, J. P., Cavan.
Gannon, Rev. P., S.J., Milltown Park, Dublin.
Gerrard J. Dennison, R.M., Cavan.
Godley, Miss, Killygar, Killeshandra .
Green, J., Maxwell, D.L., Tullyvin, Cootehill.

Halpenny, P. J., Ulster Bank, Mullingar.
Halpin, W. H., Farnham St., Cavan.
Hoare, Most Rev. J., D.D., Bishop of Ardagh, Longford.
Hogan, P., Cavan.

Judge, Very Rev. James, P.P., V.F., St. Brigid's, Killeshandra.
Justin, Rev. Brother, St. Patrick's Juniorate, Bailieborough.

Kelly, Rev. F., Moyne, Arva.
Kelly, Rev. Thos. J., C.C., Shercock.
Kennedy, Fred., Cavan.
Kennedy, Henry, B.L., Cavan.
Kimmet, Jno., 63 Battlefield Avenue, Longside, Glasgow.

Lough, Miss, Drom Mullac, Killeshandra.
Lough, Rt. Hon. Thomas, H.M.L., Drom Mullac, Killeshandra.
Lowe, Rev. William P., M.A., The Rectory, Bailieborough.
Lynch, Rev. John, C.C., The Presbytery, Granard.

MacCabe, Aidan, E. R., Church Street, Cavan.
McCay, Cyril, Main Street, Cavan.
McCay, R. A., Ulster Bank, Cavan.
MacCormack, Rev. Patrick, The Presbytery, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent.
MacDowell, Rev. W., B.A., The Manse, Farnham Street, Cavan.
MacGauran, Rev M., P.P., Tierworker, Bailieborough.
MacGennis, Patrick, Kilnaleck.
McGuinness, Thos., Main Street, Cavan.
MacGovern, Bernard, J.P., Drumkeel House, Dromahair.
MacGovern, S., Ardcilla House, Cavan.
Maguire, Rev. Francis, C.C., Loughduff, Cavan.
Maguire, Rev. Jno., B.D., St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
Maguire, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Crosserlough, Ballyjamesduff.
Mallon, Rev Patrick, C.C., Ballinamore.
Martin, Thos., Carrigans, Sch., Ballinagh.
Masterson, Rev. Edward, S.J., Milltown Park, Dublin.
Mayne, Rev. Joseph, M.A., The Venerable, the Archdeacon of Kilmore, Stradone.
Meehan, Rev. Joseph B., C.C., Bruskey, Ballinagh.
Meehan, Rev. Terence, C.C., Ballynarry, Kilnaleck.
Myles, Rev. Thomas, C.C., Miltown, Belturbet
McLoughlin, Rev. M., C.C., Belturbet.
MacKeon, Rev. P., B.D., St. Patrick's College, Cavan.

O'Connell, Very Rev. Patrick, P.P., V.G., Cootehill.
O'Connell, Philip, M.Sc., 20 Mary Street. Clonmel.
O'Connor, Miss, Main Street, Cavan.
O'Farrelly, Miss A. W., M.A., 26 Highfield Road, Rathgar, Dublin.
O'Farrelly, Alphonsus, M.A., D.Sc., 26 Highfield Rd., Rathgar, Dublin.
O'Farrelly, P. E., Cornahesk House, Virginia.
O'Hanlon, Jno. Fred, Cavan.
O'Hanlon, Edward T., Cavan.
O'Reilly, Daniel, Main Street, Cavan.
O'Reilly, Henry, B.E., County Surveyor, Rice Hill, Cavan.
O'Reilly, Rev. John, C.C., The Presbytery, Cavan.
O'Reilly, Rev. Patrick, C.C., Bailieborough.
O'Reilly, Rev. Peter, C.C., Virginia, Kells.
O'Reilly, Thomas, Loughduff, Cavan .
O'Rourke, Rev John, Garadice, Ballinamore.

Peyton, Rev. W. W., M.A., Toomna Rectory, Carrick-on-Shannon.

Reid, Wm., M.B.E., Cavan.
Rice, Col. E. A. H., D.L., Ballyconnell.
Rutherford, Dr., Earlsfield, Manorhamilton.
Ryans, Rev. —, C.C., Aughavas, Carrick-on-Shannon.
Ryan, R., M.D., The Villa, Bailieborough.

Sheridan, Michael, Ballinagh, Cavan.
Sheridan, Nicholas, Omard House, Kilnaleck.
Small, Rev. Terence, C.C., Derrylin, Belturbet.
Smith, Alfred, M.D., 30 Merrion Square, Dublin.
Smith, Major Dorman, D.L., Linn House, Hamilton, Scotland.
Smith, Frederick, M.D., D.L., Kevit Castle, Crossdoney.
Smith, Mrs, Kevit Castle, Crossdoney.
Smith, Rev. Joseph, C.P., Mt. Argus, Dublin.
Smith L. C. P., Crown Solicitor, Cavan.
Smyth, T. J., B.L., Cavan.
Smith, Rev. Philip, P.P., Parochial House, Carrigallen.
Story, Col., D.L., Bingfield, Crossdoney.
Stuart, James, M.D., The Lawn, Belturbet.
Smyth, Terence S., 60, Main Street, Cavan.

Tierney, Jno., Virginia, Kells.
Walker, Rev. R. J., B.A., Ballintemple Rectory, Ballinagh
Walker, R. V., B.A., Erne Square, Clones.
Whelan, Bernard, Main Street, Cavan.
Worrall, Rev. F. B., Cavan.

RULES OF BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

—o—

OBJECTS.

1. The Society, which shall be non-sectarian and non-political, is formed:—
   (a) to throw light upon the ancient monuments and memorials of the diocese of Kilmore, and of the Counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and to foster an interest in their preservation;
   (b) to study the social and domestic life of the periods to which these memorials belong;
   (c) to collect, preserve and diffuse information regarding the history, traditions and folk-lore of the districts mentioned; and
   (d) to record and help to perpetuate the names and doings of distinguished individuals of past generations connected with the diocese or counties named.

CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of Patrons, Members and Life Members.

3. The Patrons will be the Bishops of Kilmore, if they are pleased to act.

4. During this year (1920) all interested in the objects of the Society may become Members on payment of the entrance fee and the annual subscription.

5. After 31st December, 1920, a Candidate for Membership besides complying with the conditions in the preceding Rule must:—
   (a) be proposed in writing by an existing Member,
   (b) have his name submitted to the Committee, and, if approved of,
   (c) be elected at a meeting of the Society.

6. The entrance fee shall be 10/-. The annual subscription shall also be 10/- payable on or before election and on each subsequent 1st day of January.

7. A single subscription of £5 covers the entrance fee and entitles to Life Membership.

8. A Member ceases to have any right or privilege in the Society until his subscription for the year is paid.

9. At the end of the year such defaulters, failing a special resolution of the Committee to the contrary, shall be considered to have resigned, and their names shall be removed from the list of Members.

GOVERNMENT.

10. The Officers of the Society shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer and an Honorary Registrar.

11. The affairs of the Society shall be managed and controlled by a Committee. This Committee shall consist of:—
   (a) the Officers just mentioned, who shall be Ex-officio members;
   (b) the Patrons and Past Chairmen, who shall be Honorary Members; and
   (c) Six others specially elected.

12. For ordinary business of the Committee three shall form a quorum. But any contentious matter shall be reserved for a meeting at which five, at least, shall be present.

13. All cheques on the funds of the Society shall be signed by two Members of the Committee, as well as by the Honorary Treasurer.

14. In the event of a vacancy in any Office or on the Committee occurring during the year the Committee shall have power to fill the former by appointment and the latter by co-option until the next Annual General Meeting. It also shall have power to select to act on the Editorial Sub-Committee any Member or Members of the Society it may consider specially qualified.

15. THE CHAIRMAN
   (a) along with his deliberative vote shall have a casting vote at Committee Meetings, but at the Society's Meetings only the latter;
   (b) on his own responsibility may at any time call a Special Meeting of either the Committee or the Society; on joint requisition in writing by five Members of the Society for either, he shall on cause shown summon such meeting;
   (c) shall hold office for two years only and until the end of the Session at which his successor should be

appointed; he shall be ineligible for re-election but afterwards shall continue an Honorary Member of the Committee;

(d) if appointed by the Committee under Rule 14 the time of such temporary appointment shall not be considered as part of the two years just referred to.

16. THE HON. SECRETARY

(a) shall convene Committee Meetings as business may arise;
(b) shall send to each Member a clear week in advance notification of General Meetings, together with the Agenda paper;
(c) shall take and preserve Minutes of all Meetings;
(d) shall forward to each Member entitled to it (vide Rule 30) a copy of the Journal on its publication.

17. THE HONORARY TREASURER

(a) shall receive all moneys paid to the Society and make such payments as are authorized by the Committee;
(b) shall keep accurate accounts of receipts and payments, and submit them for audit whenever required either by the Rules or by the Committee;
(c) shall keep an accurate list of Members of the Society, showing the dates upon which their subscriptions have been paid, this list to be available for inspection at reasonable times; and
(d) in the first week of December shall remind any Member in arrears of the provisions of Rule 9.

18. It shall be the duty of the Hon. Registrar to aim at procuring information on Antiquarian and Historical matters. He shall preserve and index it, and assist all the workers of the Society.

19. Due regard being given to the provisions contained in (c) and (d) Rule 15, all Officers and Members of the Committee, Hon. Members excepted, shall be elected from and by the Society's Members and Life Members at the Annual Meeting of each year. They shall remain in office until the opening of the Annual Meeting in the succeeding year, and shall be eligible for re-election.

20. No Member who during the year has failed to attend at least one-fourth of the Committee Meetings to which he

was summoned shall be eligible at the next Annual Meeting for election as Officer or Member of Committee.

21. Resignations either from the Committee or from the Society shall be lodged with the Secretary in writing. On acceptance by the Committee the individual's obligations cease.

MEETINGS.

22. The Society shall hold three Ordinary Meetings in the year, two mainly for the purpose of reading and discussing papers, and one for an excursion to some place of archæological interest in either of the Counties named.

23. The Chairman shall preside at both Committee and General Meetings. In his absence (a) the Vice-Chairman, or (b) the Senior Past Chairman present, or failing these (c) a Member selected by the Meeting shall be entitled to powers as the Chairman.

24. The first of these Meetings shall be held, if possible, in January, and shall be called the Annual Meeting. At its opening Session:—

(a) The Committee shall submit a Report on the work of the Society during the previous year;
(b) the Hon. Treasurer shall furnish a detailed balance sheet, duly audited, ending with the previous 31st December;
(c) the Hon. Auditor for the current year shall be appointed;
(d) the election of Officers and Members of Committee shall take place;
(e) any amendments to the Rules, duly proposed, shall be discussed; and
(f) any other matter appertaining to the Society's well-being or working shall be brought forward.

25. Except to the business Session just mentioned, Members may introduce visitors to all the meetings of the Society.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

26. A paper to be read before the Society must be first submitted to and approved of by the Committee. The writer of it, however, will alone be responsible for its contents.

27. All reference to existing religious or political differences must be rigidly excluded from such papers, as well as from the discussions at the Society's meetings.

28. It rests with the Committee to determine what papers or part of papers shall be published.

29. All papers read before the Society shall become the property of the Society.

30. At the end of each year the Society shall endeavour to publish, as far as the funds will permit, a Journal containing these papers, together with the proceedings of the year and other matters of local antiquarian interest. Every Member not in arrears with his subscription is entitled to a copy of this Journal.

ALTERATIONS IN RULES.

31. Amendments or additions to the Rules can be made only at the Annual Meeting.

32. Notice of such alterations must be lodged in writing with the Honorary Secretary on or before the last day of the previous year and the modifications proposed must appear on the Agenda paper.

General Account of Receipt and Expenditure for the Period Ending 31st December, 1920.

RECEIPTS.	£ s d	Total	£ s d
Lecture (Mr F. J. Bigger)	... 16 10 0		
Subscriptions	... 105 0 0		
			£121 10 0

EXPENDITURE.	£ s d	Total	£ s d
M. V. Conlon (Stationery)	... 1 0 0		
T. J. Smyth (do)	... 17 2		
Cavan U.D.C. (Hire of Hall)	... 1 2 6		
"Anglo-Celt" (Printing and Advertising)	... 2 12 6		
"Irish Post" (Advertising)	... 1 7 0		
Lizars (Lantern, Etc., for Lecture)	... 3 16 10		
Stamps	... 1 3 2		
Cash on Deposit at Bank	... 30 0 0		
Balance at Bank, Current Account, on 31st December, 1920	... 59 10 10		
			£121 10 0

(Signed) **J. P. GANNON.**

Examined and certified correct. 15th March, 1921.

THE BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S JOURNAL, 1921.

Leabharlann a Connoga Cavan
24060

"Sing to me the History of my Country,
It is sweet to my soul to hear it."

—Mac Lonain, an Irish Poet of the Ninth Century.
Translation by Hyde.

VOL. I. NO. II.

CAVAN:
THE ANGLO-CELT, LTD., PRINTING WORKS.

24060

Vestry Door Kilmore Cathedral, Bedell's Memorial Church, rescued from the Ruins on Trinity Island. Probably served as the Main Entrance to the Thirteenth Century Church.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Report of Meetings	89
Idioms of Expression in Cavan and Leitrim By Rev. John F. McKeon.	91
Cavan Members in the Irish Parliament ... ... II. Eighteenth Century. By T. S. Smyth.	95
Historical Notices of Mullagh and District ... ... By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.	113
Ogham Stones in Cavan	254
I. The Mullagh Ogham. By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.	
II. The Dungimmin Ogham. By Rev. J. B. Meehan.	
Exhibits at Third Meeting	164
The Monastery of Slanore ... ... By Rev. Martin Comey, D.D., C.C.	166
Some Peculiarities of Speech Heard in Breifny ... By Peter Martin.	174
Exhibits at Fourth Meeting	192
A Cavan Find of Gold Objects in 1919 By Rev. J. B. Meehan.	195
Bryceman References	201
Birth Place of St. Mogue	204
Old and Measures in Cavan	206
Existence of Iron Ore at Arigna, 1788-1808	207
The Castle Tower of 1236	208
The Oldcastle "Speaking Stones"	213
The Author of "St. Kilian"	215
Termon or Hospital Lands in Cavan, 1590	216
Book Review	221
Literary Notes	223
Obituary Notices	226
Statement of Accounts, 1921	229

REPORT OF MEETINGS.

—o—

ANNUAL MEETING, 1921.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Thursday, 17th March, 1921, at 4 p.m. The Chairman presided, and the following were also present:—

Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A. (Vice-Chairman); Rev. J. F. McKeon, B.D.; Rev. M. Dolan, C.C.; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A.; Rev. F. B. Worrall, Messrs R. A. McCay, T. O'Reilly, Lougduff; J. O'Callaghan, J. Neery, H. O'Reilly, B.E.; T. Fogarty, S. McGovern, P. O'Rourke, R. Hamilton, D. O'Reilly, P. Martin, W. H. Halpin, J. Halpin, R. Hogan, T. S. Smyth, Wm. Reid, M.B.E.; S. Locke, P. J. Brady, C.E.; and the Hon. Secretary, J. A. Cole, M.A.

Apologies were received from Rt. Rev. W. R. Moore, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore; Very Rev M. Canon Corcoran, P.P., V.F.; Cavan; Dr. Alfred Smith, Dublin; Messrs Downey, Walker, O'Connell, E. T. O'Hanlon, and M. V. Conlon.

Before proceeding to the business of the meeting the Chairman referred with regret to the recent death of two members. A vote of sympathy with his confrères and relatives on the death of Brother Justin, proposed by Rev. Mr Crowe, and seconded by Mr Cole, was passed unanimously; as was one, proposed by Mr McCay, and seconded by Mr Halpin, with the relatives of Mr Henry Kennedy, B.L., also lately deceased.

Fitting obituary notices of both will be found in the last pages of this Journal.

The business of the meeting, as laid down in Rule 24, was then gone through.

The Hon. Secretary read the Report on the Society's work during the past year.

The Balance Sheet was submitted and was considered satisfactory. It is printed as an Appendix to the last Journal.

Mr Joseph P. Gannon was re-named Hon. Auditor for 1921; and on a motion, proposed by Father Dolan, seconded by Mr Hogan, and passed, the out-going officers and members of the Committee were re-appointed.

Rule 32 having been duly complied with, it was proposed to add to Rule 2 the words "and Honorary Members." The addition was approved of.

Dr. Cullen, Wesley Street, Cavan, and Mr J. Whiteside Dane, Naas, Kildare, were elected members.

THIRD GENERAL MEETING.

Immediately after the termination of the business of the Annual Meeting a General Meeting was held. The same persons were present.

Three papers were read and discussed. They are given in the succeeding pages. A few stone Celts and a Cinerary Urn—all come upon in the neighbourhood of the town—were exhibited. A description of the Urn is to be found in a later page.

FOURTH GENERAL MEETING.

This meeting took place in the usual place on 17th October at 8 p.m. There was a good attendance of members and their friends. The following twenty-one new members were elected:

Life Members—Right Rev. James O'Reilly, D.D., Fargo; Rev. Stephen J. Brady, St. Louis; W. F. Reynolds, Moy-Rein House, Andersonstown.

Members—Rev. W. Caldwell, Cavan; Rev. Peter Finnegan, Perth, W. Australia; Dr Louis Finnegan, Wicklow; Rev. F. Gerrard, P.P., Mountnugent; P. Hamilton, Cavan; J. McNamara, Cavan; Owen M'Govern, Kilnaleck; Rev. P. Meehan, P.P., Keadue; Wm. L. Micks, Dublin; Rev. P. O'Donohoe, C.C., Kilshandra; H. Fitzgerald Reynolds, Cardiff; Rev. John P. Rehill, C.C., Crosskeys; D. Carolan Rushe, B.A., Monaghan; D. J. Ryan, Bailieboro'; J. J. O'Sullivan, A.R.C.S., Manorhamilton; Rev H. R. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A, Newry; Very Rev P. Yorke, D.D., San Francisco; Rev. M. Young, C.C., Redhills:

Two papers were read, and a third, a List of Officers' names, passed as read The reading of the second, "Peculiarities of Speech Heard in Breifny," was followed by a lengthened discussion In it Col. Story, Rev. Mr Walker, Dr. F. Smith, Mr Th. O'Reilly and Mr Aidan MacCabe, took part, and added much both to the information in the paper and the interest of the proceedings. Later, Father Finnegan, of W. Australia, mentioned that he had heard and recognised some of the "Peculiarities" referred to ten thousand miles from Cavan.

The third paper, on a military subject, was introduced by the Chairman with some observations on the Garrison towns of Cavan in the 17th century. Arising out of them there was a friendly debate.

The first two of the papers, as usual, appeared in full in the "Anglo-Celt" in successive issues. They and one-half of the third are printed in this Journal. The second half will appear in the next. At their end will be found a description of the Exhibits.

IDIOMS OF EXPRESSION IN CAVAN AND LEITRIM

By Rev. John F. M'Keon.

[Read 17th March, 1921.]

According to an ancient quatrain which, some years ago, was [illegible] quoted:—

"The Ulsterman's Irish is correct, but he has not the true accent; the Munsterman's has the true accent but his Irish is not correct; the Leinsterman has neither accuracy nor true accent; while the Connaughtman has both."

Tá ceart gan blas ag an Ultach,
Tá blas gan ceart ag an Muimhneach,
Ach tá blas na ceart ag an Laighneach,
Agus tá blas agus ceart ag an gConnachtach.

If this be true, as some grammarians would have us believe, I think this Society is to be congratulated on the fact that as far as its members live in the direction of language go, it has the advantage of being in a central position between the lands of correct idiom and correct accent.

In 1584, Sir John Perrot, by adding this county to what was already recognised as Ulster, created new geographical boundaries. But his action had no further result than that of effecting what was, from his point of view, a convenient legal division. He did not, and could not, touch the unity of language—the external mark of the essential unity which bound together the Gaelic-speaking population of Breifni. And this, to some extent, explains the fact that the idioms of expression, which were once [illegible] as our own language, but which we can now only dimly recognise in the garb of the stranger, are, with few exceptions, the same in our modern Cavan and Leitrim. Manifestly, it would [illegible] to contend that all idiomatic, or even all unusual expressions in the area with which this paper deals are derived from Gaelic sources, whether North or West. Many of them—late English expressions especially—are nothing more or less than imported slang, but the inquirer will be always able to distinguish between these expressions, which are part of the national legacy, and those which have reached us from other sources.

I should like to say that this paper is merely suggestive. It is [illegible] and does not claim to be, exhaustive. And my first suggestion would be that those interested in the work of this Society

should, as far as may be possible, make lists of those expressions which they may hear from time to time amongst the people. The next best thing to this would be to suggest to others—clergy, medical men, teachers—whose lives are spent amongst the people, that they should make inquiries amongst their neighbours. I am well aware that, to some extent, this is being done; but to find it is the exception rather than the rule. And the exception must be made a rule—binding and comprehensive—if we are not to lose a considerable share of the heritage of the thoughts, and the externation of them, of other days. It is quite obvious that this is emphatically not a one-man work. The success of it depends on collaboration, comparison and analysis.

It is a melancholy fact that, before many years have passed, some portion of this inheritance of which I have been speaking will have been lost to us, if steps are not taken now to save it. I know that Gaelic classes will preserve the grammar of the language, that the modern spirit of independence from the restraint imposed by foreign influences will preserve our national games and pastimes, but I plead here for more attention to the peculiarities of local thought and diction. These are not to be found in books; they are to be heard from the lips of our living contemporaries, and the death of each of these lessens the amount of local words and the extent of peculiarities of local diction.

On several occasions I have gone to various Irish dictionaries—O'Reilly's, Dineen's, and other collections of Irish words—for the explanation of terms which I have met with in daily life, and I have been surprised and disappointed. For instance, in which dictionary shall we find the definition of an Irish word crathán—which is of common use in at least one district of the area with which the work of this Society is connected? Again, in how many places shall we find the Irish word—at one time of frequent occurrence, and which has almost become anglicised in one locality—fuinneamh, meaning "force," and applied to invective?

I do not know if it is justifiable to deal with place-names in this paper, nor do I know if all these have been dealt with, but would it not be interesting to know if the use of the word "barr," meaning the "summit," and sometimes the sloping side of a mountain, is peculiar to Breffni? It is of frequent occurrence in those districts where mountain and plain meet. And I have heard of more than one stranger being puzzled by the local use of the expression.

There is, perhaps, a certain amount of danger in insisting on localization of name, or term, or expression. It may well be that those which we consider in an especial way our territorial property are of more widespread use; but this is a matter for discrimination on the part of the inquirer.

There is a peculiar use of some terms in the Breffni area, and I

mention one of them here merely to raise the question of its localization. In one district with which I am acquainted, judging from the frequent use of one expression the casual visitor might be led to believe that he had fallen amongst sceptics. In this section of the country, apparently no one "has an opinion," or says he has—at least any positive opinion; nor does he "think"—as far as one can judge.

"Good morning, Pat. Will it rain to-day?"

"It will, I doubt."

And this, when, perhaps, the first rain-drops are falling on the speakers, and when even the shadow of scepticism on the point must be necessarily growing faint. Is there a psychological process behind this reply? And if there be, what is its origin and nature? Has the speaker lost the right to any positive opinion on anything? And must he wait for orders from elsewhere before he can boldly state what is an obvious fact? Is it merely a trick of speech? Does the expression connote a state of things which is not confined to thoughts on the weather-problem alone? I have heard it called a "blunder," but I do not believe it can be dismissed in this easy fashion.

In Breffni, amongst Irish speakers, I have never heard America called by either of the names which it has got in our modern works on the Irish language. It is neither called, by what is undoubtedly an attempt to Gaelicize an existing so-called English word "America," nor called "the new Island"—"An t-Oileán Nua" of the primers. Those native Irish speakers whom I have known in Leitrim or West Cavan prefer to call the United States by what is historically their correct modern name, "Sasana Nuadh"—New England.

Again, we never hear our friends—at least those of them who have not come under the benign influence of Lionel Edwardes—say, for instance—"He has just come." Always, he "is after coming"—Tá sé tar eis teacht. "I have just seen him," is "I am after seeing him."—Taim tar eis é d'feicsint.

Again, if any of our people wish to make a reservation, it is not, for instance, "I shall give it to you but you must leave me see some thing." It becomes: "I shall give it to you, only leave me the other thing"—a literal translation of the Irish, Tabharfaidh é duit, acht an rud eile d'fhágailt agam."

There is an apparent effort made by the speaker in some parts of Breffni to anticipate the trouble of making a definite decision in the mind of the person addressed, in cases which admit of the exercise of free will. "Are you going to the fair to-morrow, Pat, but you are." I believe this form of expression is peculiar to Breffni—at all events, it is one worthy of note. I am well aware that such an expression as this—"Will you go to the fair to-morrow, will you?"—is often heard in other places, but there is a difference.

The ordinary Irish word for the English epithet, "fine" is "breágh" In Breffni, amongst Irish speakers, particularly those of the older generation, I have rarely heard it. Its place is almost universally taken by the word "barramhail." And, indeed, in one district we might almost claim that this word is no longer native Irish, but has become Breffni English, so common is its use. The nearest English equivalent which I can find is the slang expression "tip-top."

Instances might be multiplied to illustrate my statement that we have in Breffni a vocabulary and a use of modern English which you will not find in recognized English dictionaries, but which are the translation of local Gaelic expressions.

But this paper is neither a vocabulary nor a dictionary—it is merely an attempt to call attention to a wealth of expressions which is a treasure in danger of being lost. It has been my experience that in some districts you will find one or more persons, or even groups of persons in special localities, who tell you that they forget some of the localisms, but that they can refer you to others—perhaps older folk—who have a still wider collection of terms at hand. It is amongst these latter the work of the compiler lies, and this paper has been written as an incentive to this interesting, this useful—I had almost said, this necessary—work.

JOHN F. M'KEON.

Presented by Royal Irish Academy 24060

MEMBERS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT FOR CAVAN COUNTY AND THE BOROUGHS OF CAVAN AND BELTURBET.

II. MEMBERS FOR THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By T. S. Smyth.

[Read 17th March, 1921.]

In the eighteenth century an important change was effected placing a definite limit to the life of a Parliament. Hitherto the first Parliament summoned by a King lasted till his death. He had, indeed, as he has now, the power to dissolve it at any time; but this prerogative he seldom exercised. The last time it was used in Ireland was in 1692. The first Parliament elected after the Revolution was then disbanded because the House of Commons declined to pass a Money Bill, or a Bill granting supplies, on the ground that, instead of originating with themselves, it had been sent over cut and dry from London. In England the Septennial Act, limiting the duration of the English Parliament to seven years, became law in 1714, the first year of the first of the Georges. The Irish Parliament passed a similar Act in 1761. Hence, though the previous Parliament had lasted thirty-three years, i.e., all through the reign of George II., and the one before that twelve, being also not dissolved till the death of his predecessor, no Parliament subsequent to 1761 will be found to have had a longer existence than seven years. Each Parliament, indeed, lived out its allotted span of seven years until the Union, and as George III.'s death did not occur till 1820, it did not affect a legislature which had ceased to be in 1800.

Hence it will be seen that the Roll of Members for the eighteenth century contains many more names than that for the seventeenth.

In looking over the names of the Cavan members for that century, it will be observed that from 1715 to 1800 the Borough of Cavan was represented by Nesbitts and Clements exclusively. The explanation of this is simple. These two families obtained from the Cavan Corporation a "written compact," conveying to them paramount influence in the Borough.* And what is more, when in 1800, the Borough lost its right to return members, £15,000, the compensation money for the extinction of that right, was paid to these families.

In all probability something similar occurred in Belturbet, and it, too, became a "pocket borough." At all events the £15,000 awarded in 1800, as compensation for the abolition of its franchise, was received by the 1st Earl of Belmore. Lord Belmore was of a Fermanagh family, and he had no connection with Bel-

* The Highlands of Cavan, Belfast, p. 186.

turbet or Cavan, except this, that he had "a short time previously purchased the borough for that amount from the Earl of Lanesborough."*

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the Bill providing for this compensation—£1,260,000 for eighty-four borough proprietors— was opposed in the Irish House of Peers chiefly by the then Earl of Farnham.† But his lordship's opposition was of no avail. The Bill became law.

Let us now see how the Cavan members fared in the divisions taken in Parliament in 1799 and 1800 on the proposal to abolish the Irish Legislature.‡ Both members for Cavan County—Hon. J. J. Maxwell and Francis Saunderson—voted against the Union. So did the Belturbet representatives—Charles King, Thomas Townsend, and Blayney Townley Balfour, who succeeded Mr King when he died. But the representatives of Cavan Borough did not act so unanimously. One of the members—Thomas Nesbitt—voted for the Union; while the other—Hon. Nathaniel Clements, commonly called Lord Viscount Clements—exercised his vote against it. Lord Clements, however, was also returned for Leitrim County for the last Irish Parliament and elected to sit for it. His successor in the Cavan constituency, Hon. George Cavendish, voted for the Bill.

On the second reading of the Union Bill in the House of Peers, the Earls of Farnham and Bellamont proposed the insertion of some clauses, but these were negatived.§ When it passed its third reading, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Farnham, Lord Belmore, Lord Granard, and fifteen other dissenting Peers, presented a strong protest against the Union.

Notwithstanding this protest, the Bill in due course received the Royal Assent.

Under the Act of Union this country was guaranteed 100 representatives in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom. Cavan County was divided into two constituencies—each to return one member—and the boroughs of Belturbet and Cavan were disfranchised. Until this very day the number of Cavan constituencies remains the same as that then fixed.

The following is the list of members for the eighteenth century. It has been copied from Part II. of a Blue Book of 1879 entitled "Members of Parliament," to be found in the National Library, Dublin. I have to thank the courteous Librarian, Mr T. W. Lyster, for bringing it under my notice, and I have also to thank our Registrar for many references in State Papers.

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*Lewis' Topographical Dictionary.

† Mitchel's *History of Ireland* (published by James Duffy and Co., Dublin) vol. II., pp. 151-2.

‡Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and fall of the Irish Nation.*

§Mitchel, vol. II., p. 150.

PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND.

LIST OF MEMBERS 18th CENTURY.

CONSTITUENCY—CAVAN COUNTY.

1703—1713—Sir Francis Hamilton, Bart.
Theophilus Butler, Esq. ... (1)

1713—1714—Sir Francis Hamilton, Bart.
Robert Saunderson, Esq. ... (2)

1715—1727—Brockhill Newburg, Esq. ... (3)
Mervin Pratt, Esq. ... (4)

1727—1760—Charles Coote, Esq. ... (5)
John Maxwell, Esq. ... (6)
Hon. Brinsley Butler, in place of Charles Coote, deceased. ... (7)
Hon. Barry Maxwell, in place of John Maxwell, Lord Baron Farnham. ... (8)

1761—1768—Rt. Hon. Brinsley Butler, commonly called Lord Viscount Newtown.
Charles Coote, Esq. ... (9)
William Stuart, Esq., in place of Charles Coote, Lord Collooney.

1768—1776—Hon. Barry Maxwell
George Montgomery, Esq. .. (10)

1776—1783—Hon Barry Barry.
George Montgomery, Esq.
Hon. John James Barry Maxwell, in place of Hon. Barry Barry, now [1781] Lord Baron Farnham. ... (11)

1783—1790—George Montgomery, Esq.
Charles Stewart, Esq.
John Maxwell, Esq., in place of George Montgomery, deceased.
Francis Sanderson, Esq., in place of John Maxwell, not duly elected.

1783—1797—Charles Steuard, Esq. [died in 1793] ... (12)
Francis Saunderson, Esq.
Hon. John James Maxwell, commonly called Lord Viscount Maxwell, in place of Charles Stewart, deceased.

1798—1800—Hon. John James Maxwell, commonly called Lord Viscount Maxwell.
Francis Saunderson, Esq.

CONSTITUENCY—CAVAN BOROUGH.

1703—1713—Thomas Ashe, Esq.
Robert Saunders, Esq.
Joseph Addison, Esq., in place of R. Saunders, deceased. ... (13)-p

1713—1714—Charles Lambert, Esq. ... (14)
Theophilus Clements, Esq. ... (15)

1715—1727—Theophilus Clements, Esq.
Thomas Nesbitt, Esq. ... (16)

1727—1760—Theophilus Clements Esq.
Thomas Nesbitt, Esq.
Henry Clements, Esq. [1729] in place of Theophilus Clements, deceased.
Rt. Hon. Henry Weston, in place of Henry Clements, deceased.
Cosby Nesbitt, Esq., in place of Thomas Nesbitt, deceased.

1761—1768—Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Clements ... (17)
Cosby Nesbitt, Esq.

1769—1776—Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Clements.
Thomas Nesbitt, Esq.
Henry Theophilus Clements, Esq. ... (18)
in place of Nathaniel Clements, deceased.

1776—1783—Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Clements.
Thomas Nesbitt ,Esq.
John Clements, Esq., in place of Nathaniel Clements, deceased [1777]. [Sic, compare last entry.]

1783—1790—Thomas Nesbitt, Esq.
Rt. Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements.

1790—1797—Thomas Nesbitt, Esq., of Crossdoney Lodge.
Rt. Hon Charles Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Charles Fitzgerald. ... (19)

1798—1800 Thomas Nesbitt, Esq. ... (20)
Hon. Nathaniel Clements, commonly called Lord Viscount Clements.
Hon. George Cavendish, in place of Lord Clements, who made his election for the Co. of Leitrim.

CONSTITUENCY—BELTURBET BOROUGH.

1703—1713—Richard Tighe, Esq.
Thomas Taylor, Esq. ... (22) v.p.

1713—1714—Rt. Hon. Theophilus Butler, Esq.
(See under No. 1.)
Brinsley Butler, Esq. ... (23)

1715—1727—Brinsley Butler, Esq.
Charles Delafay, Esq.
Hon. Humphry Butler, in place of B. Butler, Lord Newtown. ... (24)

1727—1760—Hon. Humphry Butler.
Hon. Thomas Butler.
Hon. Robert Butler, in place of Hon. Humphry Butler, called [in 1735] to the House of Peers. ... (26)
John Cramer, Esq., in place of Hon Thomas Butler, deceased [d. 16th Dec., 1753.]

1761—1768—Hon. Captain Robert Butler.
Hon. John Butler, who made his election to serve for the Borough of Newcastle. ... (27)
John Cramer, Esq., in place of said John Butler.
Edward Tighe, Esq, in place of Robert Butler, deceased [d. in 1763.]

1769—1776—John Cramer, Esq.
George Glover, Esq.
Robert Birch, Esq., in place of George Glover, deceased.

1776—1783—Robert Birch, Esq.
Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq. ... (28)

1783—1790—Sir Skeffington Smyth, Bart.
David La Touche, junr., Esq. ... (29)

1790—1797—John McClintock, Esq.
Maurice Coppinger, Esq.

1798—1800 Charles King, Esq.
Thomas Townsend, Esq.
Blayney Townley Balfour, Esq. in place of Charles King, deceased.

There follow some particulars about many of the Cavan members from 1703 to 1800.* It will be observed that the List of Parliamentary representatives for the eighteenth century does not, except in a solitary instance, furnish the members' addresses—an omission which made identification rather difficult in some cases.

* This information, except where otherwise stated, has been taken from Archdall's Lodge's *Peerage*, Dublin, 1789.

CAVAN KNIGHTS OF THE SHIRE.

(1) Theophilus Butler, who was returned for Cavan County to the first Parliament of Queen Anne, which met 20th May, 1703, was the son of Francis Butler who represented Belturbet towards the end of the seventeenth century. He was appointed 28th October, 1679, "Clerk of the Pells and Tallies in the Court of Exchequer for life," and had as his colleague in the same office Sir Arthur Jones. In the succeeding Parliament—1713-'14—he was member for Belturbet Borough. In May, 1710, he was made a Privy Councillor, and on the 21st October, 1715, King George I. created him Baron Newtown-Butler. His lordship died at his house in St. Stephen's Green, 11th March, 1723, and was interred in the family vault, St. Anne's Church, Dublin. Lord Newtownbutler left £30 to the poor of the parish of Belturbet, and a weekly allowance of bread to the poor of St. Anne's parish, Dublin.

(2) Robert Saunderson was probably the same person as the man of that name who is noted in the previous list, that of the seventeenth century members (v. p. 45.) More likely still, he may have been a son of the man there mentioned, for the latter, as you may recollect, was expelled from Parliament towards the end of the seventeenth century. The first of the family was a Captain Sanderson, or Saunderson, who received 1,500 acres in the Precinct of Mountjoy, Co. Tyrone—a Precinct or Barony allotted to Scottish Undertakers—and was living there in 1619 (Pynnar). His son, Lt.-Col. Robert, served in the war, was besieged in Roscommon in 1646, and obtained in satisfaction of his arrears 10,214 acres in Cavan, and 900 in Monaghan. He was High Sheriff for both these counties in 1657.*

(3) Brockhill Newburg was married to Francis, daughter of John French, Esq., of French Park. The Newburgs, who were of ancient descent, had their seat at Ballyhaise.† Once one of the leading families in the county, they no longer reside in Cavan. The breaking up of this old family was due to a duel, which proved fatal to Mr Newburg. A daughter of the family was mother of the eminent statesman, George Canning. Incidentally, it was this George Canning who replied in the British House of Commons to Richard Brinsley Sheridan's eloquent invective against the proposal to abolish the Irish Parliament.‡ Richard Brinsley was of the well-known Cavan family. He was member for Stafford in 1780, and for Westminster in 1806; and held

* Ireland under the Commonwealth by R. Dunlop—Manchester Univ. Press, 1913—vol. II. p. 633.

† *The Highlands of Cavan*, p. 183.

‡ Mitchel, Vol. II., p. 109.

various important State offices under the Whig administration; but he is much more famous for both his literary ability and his Bohemian life than even for his statesmanship. Charles Francis Sheridan, member for Belturbet, who will be referred to later, under No. 28 in this paper, was a brother of his.

(4) Mervyn Pratt, of Cabra, Co. Cavan, married in 1704 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Coote, of Cootehill, and full sister of Charles Coote mentioned in the next paragraph. One of his children, Rev. Joseph Pratt, married Jane, a daughter of Viscount Mount Morris. This family still resides at Cabra, Kingscourt.

(5) Charles Coote, of Cootehill (1695-1750) was High Sheriff for Cavan in 1719. His wife was Prudence Greer. He had one son, also called Charles (for whom see under No. 9), and seven daughters. Of these, Anne, b. 1720, married Wm. Anketell, of Anketell's Grove, Co. Monaghan; Catherine, b. 1732, married John Carry, of Sport Hall, in the same county; three others, gentlemen in Wicklow, Cork, and Limerick, and two died unmarried. Charles's death took place at Bath on the 19th October, 1750.

His Prerogative Will in the Public Record Office, Dublin, occupies 5 skins or 21 pages of transcript copy, signed Charles Coote, and sealed, 6th June, 1750, with the name "Patrick Brady, Gent., Co. Cavan, Attorney" underwritten. In it are mentioned only six daughters, one probably having predeceased him. He makes ample provision for his family and makes use of a Private Act of Parliament, passed in 1737, to enable him to charge his estate settled on his marriage with a further sum of £8,000. A singular proviso binds all persons marrying his daughters or who shall be possessed of his estates to subscribe the name of Coote and bear the family arms of the name of Coote, else they become disentitled to the provisions of the Will.

As has been already noted, the Irish Parliament, which had been summoned by George II. on his accession to the throne, lasted on till the same King's death, October 25th, 1760, or rather till the death became known in Dublin a month later. It was then dissolved, on November 25th, 1760, by proclamation of the Lords Justices; consequently, the Hon. Brinsley Butler represented Knight of the Shire, as it was then commonly phrased, in 1751 in room of Coote, deceased, enjoyed the honour for but nine years. He was, however, elected by the same constituency to the succeeding Parliament, and throughout it served in the House of Commons. On the death of his father, the 1st Earl of Lanesborough, on 11th April, 1768, he succeeded to the honour, and took his seat in the House of Peers.

(6) John Maxwell, of Farnham, was the grandson of the Right Rev. Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Kilmore from 1613 to 1672. The family was of Scottish origin, being resident in Scotland since the time of Malcolm Canmore, whose reign commenced in 1058. The Very Rev. Robert Maxwell, second son of Sir John Maxwell, of Calderwood, Lanarkshire, was the first of the family to settle in this country. He came over in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign by command of James VI. of Scotland (afterwards James I. of England) in order to promote his Majesty's interests in Ireland. He was appointed Dean of Armagh. The Bishop of Kilmore, just mentioned, was his eldest son.

John Maxwell, on the 8th May, 1756, took his seat in the Irish House of Lords as Baron Farnham, of Farnham, County Cavan. Marrying a daughter of James Barry, Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford, he had three sons and one daughter.* His youngest son became Bishop of Dromore and later of Meath. John Maxwell, the first Baron Farnham, died on the 6th August, 1759.

(7) Hon. Brinsley Butler, the second Earl of Lanesborough, was born on the 4th March, 1728. In 1760 he was appointed a Commissioner of His Majesty's Revenue; and on the decease of his father succeeded to the title, taking his seat in the House of Lords on the 3rd May, 1768. In 1754 his lordship married Jane, only daughter of the first Earl of Belvedere. He died 24th January, 1779, leaving a family of two sons and six daughters. By his will he bequeathed £30 to the widows' alm's house, Belturbet, and set aside money for other charities.

(8) The Hon. Barry Maxwell was the second son of the first Baron Farnham. On the vacancy created by the elevation of John Maxwell, his father, to the Peerage, he was returned to Parliament for County Cavan in 1757. On the dissolution of this Parliament by the death of George II. in 1760, he sat for Armagh Borough in the next Parliament, that of 1761. In 1769, at a fresh General Election, he was again selected for County Cavan. When succeeding to his maternal grandfather's (Barry of Newtownbarry) estate in Wexford, he assumed the name of Barry. He sat in the Irish House of Lords as Lord Farnham on the 7th December, 1779, having succeeded his elder brother, Robert, on his decease in that year, as Baron (3rd) of Farnham. This elder brother had been advanced to the dignities of Viscount and Earl of Farnham; but these titles became extinct on his death, and on his younger brother, Barry, devolved the Barony of Farnham alone.

However, Barry Lord Farnham was, on the 10th January, 1781, created Viscount, and on the 22nd June, 1785, was made Earl. He is reckoned the 1st Earl of Farnham.

* Healy's *History of the Diocese of Meath*, II.-102.

(9) Charles Coote, of Cootehill (b. 1738, d. about 1800), was the only son and heir of the first Charles who had represented Cavan County in the previous Parliament. In 1764 he was nominated Knight Companion of the Bath "for good and laudable service in suppressing the tumultuous and illegal insurrection in the northern parts of the kingdom." On the death without surviving issue, on the 10th February, 1766, of his father's first cousin, Richard Coote, Baron Colooney, he succeeded to that title. Richard's father had been advanced to the dignity of Earl of Bellamont, and Richard himself was the 3rd Earl; but the Earldom did not devolve on his kinsman of Cootehill. However, by patent, dated 4th September, 1767, the title was revived and Charles created Earl of Bellamont. Seven years later he married Lady Emily Fitzgerald, second daughter of the Duke of Leinster.

His residence beside the town of Cootehill was in a magnificent demesne of over 1,000 acres, 500 of which were covered with woods of full-grown timber. This demesne can hardly have been called Bellamont Forest, a name which still it bears, until after 1767 when the title was brought to Cootehill. Both it and the mansion and the famous picture of the Suicide of Dido (almost the only thing saved from the conflagration that destroyed the house soon after its erection) are described at great length in the Statistical Survey of Cavan, drawn up in 1801.

> The woods of this demesne [the author states] are the vestige of the ancient forest of the country, and this place is famous for having been the principal residence of the O'Reilly's, who were formerly the lords of the county of Cavan, then distinguished by the denomination of Brefny . . . . . one plots shews to have survived many centuries. (p. 267.)

The title of Bellamont lapsed again in or about 1800 on the death of this Earl, as his wife's only son, still another Charles, predeceased him in 1786. It has not been again revived.

It is worth mentioning that the 3rd Earl, above referred to, had in 1729 the Sligo estates, from which had been derived the title of Baron Colooney, to Joshua Cooper of Markrey in the same county for £16,945. Mr Cooper's descendants still reside there. One of them built the well-known Observatory of Markree Castle near Colooney town, and attained great eminence as an astronomer.

As Charles became Lord Colooney in 1766 and so vacated his seat in the Irish House of Commons, his successor, William Stewart, was Knight of the Shire for but the unexpired portion of the seven years, assigned in 1761 as the longest duration of a Parliament, i.e., for about two years.

(10) George Montgomery resided at Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan. He was married to Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel Clements, the father of Lord Leitrim. The latter is dealt with elsewhere in this paper. Mr Montgomery had one son and several daughters. He died in 1787.

(11) The Hon. John James Barry Maxwell, born in 1760, was the only son of the Hon. Barry Maxwell, mentioned before. He died 23rd July, 1823, without issue. The Viscounty and Earldom expired with him, but the Baronetcy reverted to his kinsman, John Maxwell Barry, eldest son of Right Rev. Henry Maxwell, Bishop of Dromore, 1765, and of Meath, 1766 till 1798. John Maxwell Barry was the 5th Baron Farnham. Between 1823 and the end of the century five others held the title. The present holder, born in 1879, and succeeded in 1900, is the 11th Baron Farnham.

In the Domestic Intelligence of the old Irish monthly, the Anthologia Hibernica (p. 320, April 1793) it is given as an item of news under April 4th that

> Monday last came on at Cavan the election of a Knight of the Shire for the County of Cavan, in room of Charles Steuart, Esq., deceased, when Lord Maxwell, eldest son of the Earl of Farnham, was elected without any opposition.

This shows that the latter was in the 1790-7 Parliament the representative from 1793 till the end. He was also in the succeeding, the last Irish Parliament.

(12) Charles Steuart, the member above mentioned, had his family residence beside Bailieborough, and the town was on his estate. On his death in 1793 Thomas Charles Stewart Corry, of Rockcorry, Monaghan, inherited the estate* He sold it to Young. This Thomas was the first of the Corrys to prefix the name "Charles Steuart," and he was the last connected with Monaghan. He was Member of Parliament for that county from 1813 till 1818. His grandson, Dr Thomas Charles Steuart Corry, of Belfast, had quite a romance connected with his life, and wrote a book of poetry which was published in 1879. He was the last of his race.

Mr Denis Carolan Rushe in his *History of Monaghan*, just issued, p. 92, states that the Corrys of Rockcorry claimed descent from an Irish predecessor—O'Corry—who conformed, but as other blood came into their family from the Royal House of Scotland with the bar sinister they dropped the Irish ancestors and added "Charles Steuart" to their name. It is not unlikely that the Bailieborough Steuarts formed the connecting links with Royalty. Charles was a successful lawyer.

* Coote's *Statis. Survey*, p. 163.

CAVAN BURGESSES.

(13) Joseph Addison, who was elected Member for Cavan Borough in place of R. Saunders, deceased, was no less a person than the brilliant essayist of "Spectator" fame.* He was the son of Rev. Lancelot Addison, and was born at his father's rectory at Milston, Wiltshire, on 1st May, 1672. In 1708 he entered Parliament as Member for Lostwithiel, which seat he exchanged in 1710 for Malmesbury; but his extreme shyness and diffidence prevented his taking any part in the English debates. Nevertheless, in 1709 he was appointed Secretary to Lord Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and it was while thus acting that he became interested in the "Tatler," and wrote his first essays for it from Dublin. About that time, too, he became member for the Borough of Cavan. When we recollect his taciturnity in the English Parliament it is somewhat surprising to find that he was not altogether silent in the Irish House of Commons.

Addison, who lived an eventful life, was, in 1717, appointed one of the Secretaries of State. He died in 1719, retaining his cheerful sweetness of temper to the last. Indeed all his biographers say of him that his character seems to have approached, as near as human frailties and imperfections will allow, to the ideal of a perfectly good man.

(14) Charles Lambert, who represented Cavan Borough in 1713, was not, as far as can be discovered, a descendant of Sir Oliver Lambert.

(15) Theophilus Clements, whose nephew, Robert, was created Earl of Leitrim in 1795, belonged to one of the two families that controlled the Cavan Corporation. It is said that by an arrangement between themselves they exercised their patronage on alternate years. Theophilus was a Teller of the Exchequer in Ireland. According to Lodge, the family is of French origin, and one Robert Clements came over here in the twelfth century. There is, however, no trace of them in Irish affairs until the eighteenth century, and Burke (*Peerage and Baronetage*) states that the founder of the family was a Daniel Clements of Rathmore, Co. Cavan, who came to Ireland as a cavalry officer with Oliver Cromwell, and left an only son. This Theophilus was eldest son of the latter, and grandson of Daniel. He was Member of Parliament for Cavan Borough from 1713 till his death in 1720.

(16) Thomas Nesbitt was a member of the family already mentioned, who, with the Clements, had complete control over the Cavan Corporation. In 1790 another Thomas Nesbitt was one of

* *Essays from the Spectator* (edited, etc., by John Cooke, M.A.), Browne and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin.

the members for Cavan, and his address—the only address furnished in the eighteenth century list—is given as Crossdoney Lodge. This was the family seat of the Nesbitts. The mansion, now called Lismore Castle, from a very fine fort in front of it, still remains at Crossdoney. It is roofless, but the outside shell is almost intact—a plain, substantial, three-storied building. The date 1733 may be seen on the lead piping. This is probably the date of its erection.

A century before that there lived at Lismore Philip McMulmore O'Reilly, the leader in Cavan of the 1641 insurrection. He was brother of Edmond and father of Mulmore or Myles, the High Sheriff of the county in that year. The latter is always referred to as Myles the Sheriff to distinguish him from Myles the Slasher and several other Myles O'Reillys. Philip's eldest son, John, was married to the elder daughter of Luke Dillon, brother of Sir James Dillon, who in 1620 had been created Earl of Roscommon. Luke Dillon himself had his residence in Trinity Island. But in 1653 he was deprived of his estates in both Cavan and Meath, and transplanted to Tuaghmore (or Twomore) in Roscommon.*

Living at Lismore in the parish of Kilmore Philip O'Reilly was Bishop Bedell's near neighbour, and in the 1641 troubles he acted a neighbourly part, doing what he could to mitigate asperities. William Bedell in his *Life* of his father never mentions him unless to record some act of kindness. The Rev. Alexander Clogy (or Clogie), however, is not so friendly to him. In his biography of his father-in-law, the Bishop, he declares that Philip Mulmore was " the most cunning artificer " of all the O'Reillys.

Patrick Dillon, grandson of Luke, succeeded at Tuaghmore before 1684, and married Dympna, grand-niece of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. The youngest of their five sons, Thomas, died at Larkfield, beside Manorhamilton, on the 16th May, 1767.

(17) Rt. Hon. Nathaniel Clements, P.C., younger brother of Theophilus, referred to previously (under 14), served in Parliament for the Borough of Duleek in 1727, and was one of Cavan's representatives from 1761 until his death in 1777. He was one of the cashiers of the Irish Exchequer for several years, and on the decease of the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner, succeeded him as Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Marrying in 1729 Hannah, eldest daughter of Rev. William Gore, Dean of Down, he had three sons and four daughters. It is worthy of note, too, that in 1751 he was appointed Ranger of the Phoenix Park. Shortly after receiving this position he built the present Viceregal Lodge on the site of the old Lodge of Newtown. Negotiations for the acquisition of this house for the use of the Lord Lieutenant were entered into in 1781, and in July of the following year were com-

* Lodge, Vol. IV., p. 160.

pleted by the payment to Mr Robert Clements of a sum of £10,000.*

Nathaniel Clements died in 1777. His eldest son, Robert, was in 1783 elevated to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Leitrim of Manor Hamilton, was advanced to the Viscounty of Leitrim in 1793, and created Earl of Leitrim two years later. Lord Leitrim, whose life was taken in Donegal on the 2nd April, 1878, was grandson of this Robert and third Earl of Leitrim. He never married and was succeeded by Robert Bermingham, son of his youngest brother, Rev. Francis Nathaniel Clements, Vicar of Norton, and honorary Canon of Durham. Robert Bermingham died in 1892, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles, born in 1879, and still living. He is the 5th Earl of Leitrim.

(18) Rt. Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements was the younger son of Nathaniel Clements just mentioned. He resided at Ashfield, Cootehill. In the Parliament of 1776—83 he was one of the two members for County Leitrim. He was re-elected for Leitrim in 1783, but on petition was unseated and John Gore, Woodford, was declared elected in his stead. † At the 1783 General Election he had also been returned for Cavan Borough, and he then fell back upon its representation. This Parliament, as was customary since 1761, lasted for 7 years; and on its dissolution he again was a candidate for Leitrim, and was successful. Besides other offices which he held, he was Deputy Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, a post once occupied by his father. In 1770 he married Mary, daughter of General Webb. She lived but a few years. His second wife, Catharine, whom he married in 1778, was the eldest daughter of the Rt. Hon. John Beresford. Ancestor of the Clements of Ashfield, he died about the first days of January, 1796, after a continuous service in the House of Commons for over 20 years.

(19) Lord Charles Fitzgerald, born in 1756, was son of the 1st Duke of Leinster. His mother was daughter of the 2nd Duke of Richmond and Lennox. He entered the navy and rose to be Rear-Admiral. He served in the Irish Parliament from 1776 till its extinction for which he voted. In the Parliament 1783-90 he was member for County Kildare, in the next member for Cavan Borough, and in the one succeeding member for somewhere else. On 27th December, 1800, he was created Lord Lecale, of Ardglass, County Down; but dying without surviving children in 1810, the dignity expired.

* C. Litton Falkiner's *Illustrations of Irish History*, p.. 68.

† "Roll of County Leitrim Officers." Printed for private circulation in 1869 by J. Ormsby Lawder, Esq., Lawderdale, who was High Sheriff of Leitrim in that year.

(20) Thomas Nesbitt (very probably the same as he whose address is given as Crossdoney Lodge) was a "pensioner at will."* As already stated, he voted for the Union.

(21) Hon. George Cavendish, who, like Nesbitt, supported the Union, was Secretary to the Treasury during pleasure. He was a son of Sir Henry Cavendish†

BELTURBET BURGESSES.

(22) Thomas Taylor, one of the members for Belturbet in 1703, may have been the Rt. Hon. Thomas Taylor, who was born on the 25th July, 1662, created a Baronet of Ireland, 12th June, 1704, and died in 1736.‡ At least he may have been a relation to the last-mentioned person. It is equally likely that he was connected with the family of John Taylor, Esq., who "hath 1,500 acres called Aghieduff."§ This was situated in the Precinct of Loghtee, allotted to English Undertakers. Of Taylor's property Pynnar says:—"Upon this proportion is a Castle and Bawne thoroughly finished, and himself and his family dwelling in it. I find estated and planted upon this land of Brittish Birth and descent, a total of 24 families, besides divers Undertenants." All those, Pynnar adds, had taken the Oath of Supremacy; and he also mentions that most of them dwelt in a village consisting of fourteen houses, and which contained a water mill.

(23) The Hon. Brinsley Butler succeeded in 1723 his brother, Theophilus, as second Baron Newtownbutler. He represented, at different times before that, Belturbet and Kells. On the 9th July, 1711, Brinsley Butler was sworn Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod, attending the House of Lords. He was also Lieutenant of the Company of Battle-Axes, whose duty it was to guard the Chief Governors of the Kingdom. The colonelcy of this Company was conferred on him on the 5th May, 1714, but he resigned it on the death of Queen Anne. In May, 1726, he was appointed a Privy Councillor by King George I., continuing in that office under the reign of King George II. The latter monarch advanced him to the dignity of Viscount of Lanesborough in 1728, and he sat in the Irish House of Lords by that title on the 27th October, 1731.

He married Catherine, daughter of Neville Pooley, Esq., Dublin, and had 23 children. Dying in Dublin on the 6th March, 1735, he was interred with his brother.

* Appendix, Mitchel.
† Do.
‡ Burke's Peerage.
§ Pynnar's Survey.

(24) The Hon. Humphrey Butler was the son of Brinsley, Lord Baron Newtownbutler (afterwards Viscount Lanesborough), and succeeded his father as member or burgess for Belturbet in 1725. He was High Sheriff of County Cavan in 1727, and held the same office in Westmeath the following year. Captain of the Battle-Axe Guards was another of his positions, and on vacating it, his brother Robert succeeded to it. On March 23rd, 1735, he took his seat in the Irish House of Lords; was made a Privy Councillor on the 13th November, 1749, and for a time was Governor of County Cavan.

In 1756 he was advanced a step in the peerage, the title of Earl of Lanesborough being conferred on him. On the 14th March, 1760, he was elected Speaker of the House of Peers during the Chancellor's illness. He died at St. Stephen's Green, 11th April, 1768, leaving a son and a daughter.

(25) Hon. Thomas Butler was another son of the first Viscount Lanesborough. Rising to various positions in the Army, he eventually succeeded his uncle in the post of Adjutant-General; and in May, 1744, was appointed one of the General Governors of County Limerick. He died at his residence St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on the 16th December, 1753.

(26) Hon. Robert Butler in 1735 took the place of his brother, Humphrey—who, on the death of his father, was called to the House of Peers—as one of the representatives of Belturbet. He also succeeded his brother as Captain of the Battle-Axe Guards. On the 30th August, 1753, he married Mary, daughter of Dr. Robert Howard, Bishop of Elphin.

(27) Hon. John Butler was the youngest surviving brother of the Hon. Robert Butler. He was appointed "Clerk of the Pipe" on the 7th June, 1735. Re-elected for Newcastle, he resigned the representation of Belturbet. In this connection, it is of interest to note that he was member for Newcastle for 40 years, viz., from 1743 till 1783.

(28) Charles Francis Sheridan was of a Cavan family. Their ability in every generation is often adduced as a proof that talent is hereditary. His father, Thomas, was born in Quilca House, near Virginia; and Dean Swift, who was there at the time, in one of his usual long visits to Rev. Dr Sheridan, stood sponsor at the baptism. He himself was born in Dublin in 1750.* In 1772 he was appointed envoy to Sweden, serving in that capacity for three years. While there he wrote his *History of the Revolution*. He was elected for Belturbet in 1776, and was called to the Irish Bar in 1780. At the next General Election, in

* *Dictionary of National Biography*—sub nomine, Vol. XVII., p. 74,

1783, he became member for Rathcormack. When his brother, the famous Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was appointed Under-Secretary in the second Rockhampton administration he secured Charles Francis the post of Secretary for War in Dublin. From this office he retired in 1789, and received a pension of £1,000 per annum. The latter part of his life was spent in futile experiments in chemistry and mechanics. He died in 1806. It should be added that his grand-niece—grand-daughter of Richard Brinsley—was the mother of the 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (d. 1902), said to have been one of the greatest diplomats the British Isles ever produced. She it was who wrote the poem beginning, "I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary."

(29) David La Touche, junr., was descended from an English family whose original name was Digges. McParlan in his *Statistical Survey of the County Leitrim* (Dublin, 1802) mentions the "Rt. Hon. David Latouche and Brothers" in the list of 17 "Noblemen and Gentlemen who have large properties within this county, and have no place of residence therein." He married the only daughter of Dr George Marley, Bishop of Dromore, and had six sons and five daughters. By profession he was a banker.* Though not a representative of Belturbet at the time, he voted against the Union, while a namesake of his, Rt. Hon. David Latouche, voted for it†

In conclusion, I should like to point out that it is not on record that any Cavan members occupied the office of Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.‡ Nevertheless, many of Cavan's former representatives, in the seventeenth as well as in the eighteenth century, were distinguishd for their eloquence and ability.

To complete the list of Members I give from another source§ the names of those in James the Second's Parliament. It sat in Dublin from May 7th till 20th July, 1689; but the destruction of all official and other documents and writings in connection with it was ordered in 1695 by an Act of a subsequent Irish Parliament—7 Will. III. Ir. c.I. The Act did not attain full success.

* In the "Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanac," published by John Watson, Dublin, 1768, "Messrs David Latouche and Sons, Castle Street," are included with three other firms under the heading of "Bankers of Dublin." From the same publication it is learnt that David La Touche, jun., was Treasurer of the Hibernian Marine Nursery, etc., and, like other Cavan Parliamentary representatives, was a member of the Dublin Society, later known as the Royal Dublin Society.

† Appendix, Mitchel.

‡ C. Litton Falkiner's The Parliament of Ireland under the Tudor Sovereigns, Vol. XXV., Section C., No. 10, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

§ *The Patriot Parliament* of 1689 by Thomas Davis, (London—Unwin, 1893), 3rd Ed. Appendix, p. 159. See also Dr Sigerson's Work on the same subject,

JAMES II'S PARLIAMENT, 1689.

COUNTY OF CAVAN.

Philip Reilly, of Aghmacrevy, Esq.
John Reilly, of Garirobuck, Esq. (Cf. p. 66 of this Journal.)

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

Philip Og O'Reilly, Esq.
Hugh Reilly, of Lara, Esq.

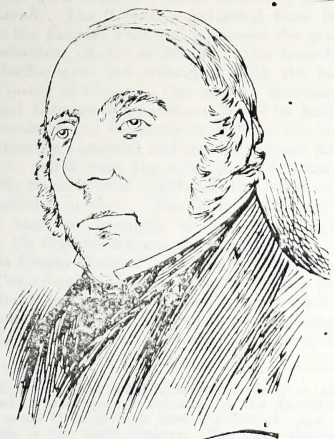
BOROUGH OF BELTURBET.

Sir Edward Tyrell, Bart.
Philip Tuite, of Newcastle, Esq.

T. S. SMYTH.

NOTE—For a general history of the Irish Houses of Parliament a mass of materials may be found in the Public Record Office, Dublin. The collection was fully indexed by the late Record Commissioners. A synopsis of the contents is given in the valuable work, Wood's *Guide to the Records* deposited in the place named, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1919, pp. 190-193.

For more readily accessible information on the same subject the reader may be referred to the late C. L. Falkiner's Paper on Irish *Parliamentary Antiquities* (and the authorities therein quoted) contained in his *Essays Relating to Ireland*; and also to a series of articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (July, 1918, March and August, 1921), and in the *Irish Monthly* for September, 1921. The writer is Mr M. MacDonagh, author of the *History of the English Parliament*, a work issued this year (1921.)



EUGENE O'CURRY

Born at Dunaha, Clare, 11th Nov., 1794. Died in Dublin on July 30th, 1862.

Petrie, O'Donovan, and O'Curry were life-long friends. They form the brilliant trio that laid the foundations of Irish Antiquities and Irish Scholarships.

(See *A Group of Nation-Builders* by Rev. P. M. MacSweeney, Dublin, 1913.)

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF MULLAGH.

By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

The present parish and district of Mullagh were formerly included in the old Civil Parish of Killinkere as is indicated by the Down Survey Map of 1654. This Civil Parish is shown as occupying a large area in the north-eastern portion of the Barony of Castleraghan.* Four parcels of termon lands were comprised in this Civil Parish, viz:—Killinkeare, Rahonacke (Raffony), Rantavan, and Beagh. This shows its former ecclesiastical importance. Mullagh and Killinkere were separate parishes in 1701. Although Rev. Bartle MacCabe was Parish Priest of both from 1766 till his death in 1794, yet, as we shall see afterwards, ecclesiastically the parishes appear to have been considered as separate.

An examination of the Down Survey and Plantation Maps shows that the old district of Mullagh, as understood in the early seventeenth century, was situated to the north and north-east of the present Mullagh Lough and included portions of the present-day townlands of Cornakill and Cloughbally-beg. The present town of Mullagh occupies the south-eastern portion of the older district marked *Molluch* on the Plantation Map of 1609 and *Mullagh* on the Down Survey. The Hill of Mullagh may be considered as the centre of the ancient district reaching to Acnamadron, now Rosehill† The old Church of *Teampull Ceallaigh* the Rectory and Glebe lands are in the townland of Rantavan.

The townland ofBillywood‡ adjoining Mullagh is mentioned in the *Chronicum Scotorum* under the year 710 A.D. in the notice of a battle fought there:—

> The battle of Bile Tenedh in Assal gained by Murchadh Midhe, in which Flann, son of Aedh, son of Dluthach, and Dubhduin Ua Becce were slain; and Colga and Aedh Cluasach, son of Diarmaid, fell in the heat of the battle.

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* "Castleraghan" in Down Survey. O'Donovan calls this spelling "barbarous."

† This townland is marked "Acnamadron and Archtkillibreed" on the Down Survey; portion is marked "Aghamodoe." The "Act of Settlement Grants" (1666) have "Acnamadron and Arthekillibride" and "Aghamadder."

‡ In the Barony of Lower Kells, Co. Meath. The old district of Assal was situated in the region around Ceanannus. "Bile Tenedh," signifying the "tree of the fire," reminds us of the sacred fires around which the Druidic rites were performed in Pagan times.

The earliest historical references to Mullagh are concerned with accounts of the O'Reilly* clan, one branch of which resided here. This was the Clan Maelmordha† whose Chieftains, so frequently mentioned by the Annalists held lordship for centuries over the surrounding districts. Eastern Breffni, or Breffni O'Reilly, existed as a separate principality from the tenth century until 1584 when Lord Deputy Perrott formed it into the present County of Cavan. The O'Reillys extended their territory and authority into the English Pale and possessed the present Barony of Lower Ceanannus (Kells) in Meath. The boundaries of the territory of Breffni were not coincident with the boundaries of the present County of Cavan. The eastern boundary of Breffni O'Reilly passed through Kilmainham Wood to Kells, and from thence to Crossakeel and Oldcastle in Meath; the boundary continued to Granard in Longford and passed through parts of Westmeath. On the north-west the river at Ballyconnell separated Breffni O'Reilly from Breffni O'Rourke; the latter extended from thence to Drumcliff in Sligo. The *Annals of Ulster* in the year 1258 mention that the hostages of Muinnter-Raighilligh were given to Aedh Ua Conchobuir and the hostages of Ui-Briuin from "Cenannus to Druim-Cliabh." The same *Annals* record in 1355 the death of Concobur Mac Con Shnama, "Bishop of the Breifni from Drum-cliabh to Cenannus" (i.e., from Drumcliff to Kells.) The O'Reillys had castles at Tullymongan, Cloughoughter, Ballynacargy, Tullyvin, Lisgannon, Belturbet, Kilmore, Lismore and

* The O'Reillys were descended from Aodh Fionn or Aodh the Fair King of Connacht whose death is recorded by the Annalists, A.D. 611. They took the name O'Raighilligh from Raghallach, one of their celebrated Chieftains in the tenth century. The name Raghallach is said to be derived from "ragh," meaning an arm and "allach" signifying strong. The poet, O'Dugan, historian of the O'Kelly's, Princes of Hy Maine, who died A.D., 1372, wrote:—

"Rioghthaoiseach na ruathar n-garbh
O'Raghallaigh na ruadh arm."

"Head Chief of fierce conflicts
O'Raghallaigh of the red arms (or shields.)"

†Maelmordha, latinised "Milesius" and anglicised Miles, was a favourite name with the O'Reillys. Other names occurring in the text are:—Cu-Connacht (lit. warrior of Connacht) latinised "Cornelius" and anglicised "Conor" or "Connor." Toirdelbach is now "Turlough" and, without warrant, has been latinised Terentius whence Terence, Giolla-Iosa is latinised Gelasius. Magnus or Maghnus is now Manus. Aodh is usually "translated" Hugh, although the names have no connection. By a similar process of latinisation, for which Irish writers of the Middle Ages are responsible owing to their using Latin, we now get "Felix" for Feidhlimidh, "Eugene" for Eoghan "Malachy" for Maelseachlain, "Thaddeus" for Thadg, "Jeremiah" for Diarmaid, "Virgilius" for Fearghal. These names are substitutions, and date from the sixteenth century. (Vide Rev. P. Woulfe (*Sloinnte Gaedhal is Gall* new Edition.)

Camett (now Kevitt) near Crossdoney, Tonagh, and Ballyrinke, near Lough Sheelin; Kilmacrott, Lough Ramor, and Mullagh in Castlerahan Barony and Tonragee (Bailieboro'), and Muff in Clankee Barony. The sites, and the sites only, of most of these ancient castles can still be located. The buildings themselves have almost wholly perished.

In a Parliament held in Trim in 1447 by Sir John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, English Lord Deputy in Ireland, it was enacted that the circulation of Irish coinage called "O'Reillys' Money" be prohibited in the English Pale. This shows that the O'Reillys coined their own money as early as the fifteenth century. Another Act to prohibit the circulation of "O'Reillys' Money" was passed in the Parliament held in Naas, Co. Kildare, in 1457 by the English Lord Deputy, Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

As their territory was located on the borders of Meath the O'Reillys had to maintain constant warfare in order to hold their frontiers against the settlers of the English Pale. Numerous notices of the incursions of these settlers into Breffni will be quoted from the Annalists in this paper. The Castle of Mullagh being situated in close proximity to the English Pale, was much exposed to these sudden and destructive forays, and it was necessary to hold there a force sufficiently strong to successfully repel such attacks. Fynes Moryson (Secretary to Lord Mountjoy) in his account of the wars of Hugh O'Neill states that the O'Reillys brought 800 foot and 200 horse to the standard of O'Neill; again, Camden, writing during the reign of Elizabeth, mentions that the O'Reillys were famous for cavalry.

The *Annals of Loch Cé* record an attack by the settlers of the Pale on Breffni O'Reilly in 1233 A.D.:—

> The hosting by William de Laci (i.e., the son of Hugo and the daughter of Ruaidhri, son of Toirdelbhach Mor O'Conchobhair) and by the Foreigners of Midhe along with him; and they went with great force into the Breifne, to Cathal O'Raighilligh and to his brother Cu-Connacht and committed great depredations. A party of the people of O'Raighilligh, however, encountered William de Laci and the chieftains of the host who were behind the preys; and they gave each other battle, and William Brit was slan there, and other good foreigners along with him; and William de Laci was wounded there, and Charles, son of Cathal Gall, and many more along with them; and they (the Foreigners) afterwards returned from the district without pledges or hostages; and William de Laci; and Charles, son of Cathal Gall O'Conchobhair; and Feorus Finn son of the Foreign Queen,* and Diar-

* Feorus Finn or Foerus the Fair appears to have been the son of Isabella of Angouleme, widow of King John and mother of Henry III. of England. She was married to the Count Hugo de la Marche in France.

maid Bernach O'Maelsechlain, died in their own houses immediately after from the wounds inflicted on them at Monacrand-chain*

The *Book of Fenagh*† translated by Kelly and annotated by Hennessy, gives (p. 77) the following supposed prophecy of St. Caillin relative to this battle:—

'Tis in the time of this stainless Cu‡
That William§ will come again over the sea:
But though he brings Foreigners into the country,
He will be defeated in Crandchain.‖
The reason why I propheecy this day,
That the place shall be called Crandchain,
Is from the *crannagh*** that will be given there,
From the bog into the river.
To William Gorm, after that defeat,
Three weeks exactly [I allow]
In Meath, until from the poison of his wounds,
The knight's strength is subdued.

The *Annals of Loch Cé* record another incursion in 1328:

Maelsechlain O'Raighilligh, lord of Muinter-Maelmordha, was apprehended and wounded by the Foreigners of Midhe; and he was released on giving hostages, but afterwards died of his wounds in his own house.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* and also the *Annals of Ulster* record the event under the same date. An earlier incursion is noted by the *Annals of Loch Cé* under 1270:—

* The place where this battle was fought signifies the bog of the handsome trees. (V. note by Hennessy.) It was situated in County Cavan on the border of Meath, but has not been identified. I am unable to trace any place at present bearing the name in Co. Cavan.

† The "Book of Fenagh" was composed about or previous to 1300 A.D. The notes are by Hennessy:—

‡ The "Cu." Lit. "the hound"; a word frequently employed in the composition of Irish proper names, as Cu-Chonnacht, "Hound of Connacht"; Cu-Ulad, "Hound of Ulster," etc. (Cf. note ante.)

§ "William," William Gorm (i.e., Blue William) or William de Lasci. . . .

‖ "Crandchain." This battle is recorded by the four Mast. under year 1233, the name of the site being written "Moin-Crandchain," which was somewhere in the County Cavan, not far from the Meath border. The account represents De Lasci as having been wounded by the O'Reillys, and having died from the effects of his wounds. The battle is also recorded under the same year in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise, in which William de Lasci is said to have been "the chiefest champion in these parts of Europe; and the hardiest and strongest hand of any Englishman from the Nicene seas to this place, or Irishman."

** "Crannagh." A figurative expression for "slaughter," or "crashing"; derived from "crann," a tree.

Thomas O'Raighilligh was slain by the Foreigners of the Ober.*

The *Annals of Ulster* record in the year 1431:—

A horse-host of Foreigners came in search of spoil into the Clann-in-Caich† of Ua Raighilligh, Magnus Mag Mathgamna, namely, son of Ardghal, went the same day in search of spoil against the Foreigners, and information of the horse-host of the Foreigners was got by him. Magnus followed them on their track and found them resting, keeping guard on the prey. Magnus went against them spiritedly, successfully, and their magnates were captured by him and the other portion of them slain. And Maghnus went to his house on that occasion with triumph of victory and so on.

But the O'Reilly Clan did not always remain on the defensive against their hostile neighbours. The *Annals of Ulster* record under the year 1413:—

The Muinter-Raighillaigh and Clann-Caba went on an attack into Meath this year and large burnings were done by them. And the Foreigners overtook them then, and Mathgamain MacCaba was slain there, and Lochlainn MacCaba‡ and many of his people were slain there, and Thomas Ua Raighillaigh, junior, was injured, and he was lame from that out.

The *Four Masters* have the same entry. We shall see presently mention made by the Annalist of similar incursions.

The Castle of Mullagh appears to have been the principal residence of the Clann Maelmordha O'Reilly of Southern Breffni; the Barony of Castlerahan was the patrimony of the Clann Maelmordha. The old castle, of which hardly a vestige now remains, was situated in the townland of Cloughbally-beg, close to the

* "Nobber," Co. Meath. The name signifies the "obair" or work and was applied to the English Castle there. The definite article was incorporated and became a permanent part of the word. Mageoghegan's translation of the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" calls it "the Obber."

† Lit. "Clan of the Blind (O'Reilly.") Now the Barony of Clankee. According to O'Donovan, the Clann-kee O'Reilly gave its name to this barony. "All the families of this sept had taken the name of Mac Kee," he writes, "but they were compelled to resume their true name, O'Reilly, by the celebrated Hugh O'Reilly, Primate of All Ireland in 1615." "Duffy's Hibernian Magazine," Jan. 1861, p. 38.

‡ "The MacCabes who are very numerous in this County [Cavan] are not of the Hy-Brian or even the Milesian race, but descended from a Danish Chief "nomine" Tormod, of whom see Mac Firbis.

Tradition still styles the MacCabes Lochlannan, for whenever any of the family do anything out of the way vulgar prejudice will proclaim, 'He could not be good being of the Lochlann race.'" (O'Donovan, "O.S. Letters," Cavan, 1836.)

western edge of the Lake of Mullagh; it is marked in this position on the Plantation Map of 1609. The dimensions of the building may still be traced. O'Donovan (O.S. *Letters*, Cavan, 1836, p. 64) is error when he says that "it must have stood on the site of the present little village of Mullagh and given rise to it." He appears to have relied on Norden's Map (1609) without attempting to definitely establish the site locally. The Plantation Map of 1609 fixes the location of the old castle, so also does the Act of Settlement Grants of 1667 which mentions "Cloghballybeg, with the old castle there-on." From the manuscript evidences connected with the history of the O'Reilly Clan we can gather many interesting details concerning this castle and its founders, and also about the adjacent churchyard of *Teampull Ceallaigh* now anglicised *Kelly's Church*. The history of this old church and graveyard is closely associated with the history and vicissitudes of the O'Reilly Clan who, as chieftains of the district, extended their patronage and protection over it.

The *O'Reilly Pedigree** has the following, which is one of the earliest references to this church:—

> Giolla Iosa Ruadh had thirteen sons, viz—Philip Cu-Connacht from whom are descended the people of Mullach, viz., Philip, son of Shane, son of Brian, son of Philip with his relatives. There arose a dispute between the descendants of Cuchonnacht and the descendants of Giolla Iosa Ruadh and they burned *Teampull Ceallaigh* at *Loch an Mhuillin*, so that it was not rebuilt ever since, and no one was buried in the churchyard for a long time after that deceitful act.

The ruin which remains in the churchyard of *Teampull Ceallaigh* appears to be that of a more modern erection, but its style and shape are pre-Reformation. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* (*ibid*) in a list of the castles possessed by the O'Reilly Clan in Southern Breffni states that:—

> The Castle of *Mullach* was erected by Conor More, son of Shane, son of Philip, son of Garret Roe.
>
> From Giolla-Iosa, son of Mahon, son of Garret Roe, came the *Muinnter an Mhagha* (Muff.)
>
> From Cormac, son of Shane, came the nobility of *Muinnter Connaçht* called "Sliocht na d-Tri (the descendants of the three.)

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* MSS. H. I. 15, T.C.D. This valuable MSS. preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains the Genealogy and Pedigree of the O'Reilly Clan. It extends over 960 pages—the pagination is a high one—written in Gaelic. It is sometimes called by a fictitious name —the "Salter of Tara"—probably to imitate the great historical work called the "Psalter of Tara," now unfortunately lost except what extracts we may have from it by modern writers. The compiler of the MSS. was the celebrated Tadhg O'Neachtain who was born in 1671 and is the author of a well-known Irish-English Dictionary.

The translation in the text above is literal in order to follow the original more closely.

To the family of Edmond belong the people of *Druim Mallacht* (Drummallaght), viz:—Shane, son of Edmond, son of James, son of Conor. Giolla-Iosa, son of Glaisne, son of Conor, son of Miles of Druim Mallacht (p. 852.)

These were the five chieftains that were governing the Gairbhthrian of Connacht now called Breiffne O'Reilly and Breifne O'Ruarc, or the Co. Cavan and the Co. Leitrim, under O'Reilly or under O'Ruarc alternately whilst they were in Lordship to the time of old Ferghal (if it be true) who got the old Ensign from *Mullach Luich*, namely, from his captives by whom the said Ensign was surrendered. Among all the virtues of this Ensign, it had the virtue of being kept by its standard bearer in every battle fought but not to place it standing by the top of a shield. This condition was not fulfilled by Mac Cuirrin, the standard-bearer of O'Ruarc. The battle took place accordingly and he took the old Ensign with him to O'Maghnus, son of Hugh, in Scotland. Previously to that old Ferghal spread his fame, excellency and renown far and wide and banished all the O'Reillys except Cathal na gCaorach as before mentioned. (p. 852.)

The last man under the power of the English was Maoilsheachlsainn O'Reilly. The place wherein his house stood was in view of Eamhain [Emain Macha or Emania now Navan fort, near Armagh] and of Uisneach [in County Westmeath, west of Mullingar.] Over the plain of Meath and out over the House of Teamhrach [Tare]. For he dwelt on the Hill of *Mullach* that was situated on the high hill of the spoil, and they say that he had a barrel of wheat and a barrel of malt as a tribute on every ploughland from Dublin to Ceannanus [Kells.] (p. 852.)

The O'Ruarc left no O'Reilly without killing except that old child, Cathal na gCaorach whom his tutor Mac Giolla Dubh sent to his real foster brother to Duthadh Lein [Dulane] at Ceanannus [Kel's] to be punished. He remained there up to this minding sheep so that the O'Ruarcs no longer attempted to get the same power in the Eastern portion of the Gairbhthrian, so that the Gairbhthrian was called Breffne O'Ruarc and Breffne O'Reilly secondly (p. 852.)

Osgur, viz: Sireadan, his nine sons and their nine foster-fathers nine cows and a bull came to reside at Coill na Nam-Lus near Tuladh to the west of Sliabh Cairbre. They slew the mercenary soldiers there. They marched thence to the Tochar The bull bellowed. "My son," said the deaf Maolishenan, "these cows came from the country of enemies to the country of friends, and the offspring of those who own the cows shall have the country as far as the bel-

lowing was heard." It is thought [believed] that it is Ferghal of the Tochar that was the chief O'Reilly at that time and that he used be [live] for a while at the Tochar and for a while at Tulach Mongain. O'Reilly said to the Sireadans that if they reached Cloch Machtair where the guards of O'Ruare were up to that, and having the Mac Ternans and Mac Saurins helping them they would get the place appraised as an estate. Thereupon they beleagured the Castle until the servants came out of the Castle to cut firewood. These they slew and put on their skin clothing. The postern door was opened for them and, springing on the garrison, they slew them before they had time to seize their arms; and in the guise of this deception they got the best land in Breffne, viz: from Loch Uachtair to *Mullach Luach* (ibid.)

The Annalists record many particulars of the O'Reilly Clan which help us to fix the date of the erection of the Castle of Mullagh.

The *Annals of Ulster*, A.D., 1403, record that Cu-Connacht, son of Maghnus Ua Raighilligh, died. In the same year the *Annals of Loch Cé* note:—

> Maelmordha, the son of Cu-Connacht, son of Giolla-Isa Ruadh assumed the lordship of Muinter Maelmordha in hoc anno.

His death is recorded by the *Annals of Loch Cé* and also by the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Four Masters* in 1411:—

> Maelmordha O'Raighilligh, King of Muinter Melmordha, mortuus est.

The *Annals of Ulster* and also the *Four Masters* record in A.D., 1485:—

> The descendants of Maelmordha of the *Mullach* were expelled from their own district, and the sons of Glaisne Ua Raighilligh built a castle on their land. And on their [the sons] settling on them, those drew the Earl of Kildare, namely, Gerald, son of Earl Thomas, on the sons of Glaisne and 15 herds of cows were wrested from them in a raid, and Gilla-Isa, son of Glaisne, was taken in it.

The statement of the *O'Reilly Pedigree* shows that the Castle of Mullagh was erected by Conor More O'Reilly, and this notice of the Annalists fixes the date of the erection as A.D., 1485 However, this does not preclude the existence of an older foundation or residence prior to this date. The Clan Maelmordha were in possession of southern Breffni from the eleventh century onwards. The *Annals of the Four Masters* record in A.D., 1488:—

> Eogan, son of Maelmordha Ua Raighilligh, namely lord of *Mullach-Laighill*, died this year,

> The *Annals of Ulster* have A.D., 1495. (The italics are mine):
>
> Toirdelbach, son of John, son of Toirdelbach, son of John, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh, and Aedh, son of Maelmordha son of John, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh, were slain in one place this year, namely, the 6th of the Kalends of June [May 27], Wednesday, by Cu-Connacht, son of Maghnus, son of Maelmordha of the Mullach. And Cú-Connacht himself was slain with cast of javelin in same place by the same Aedh And the javelin whereby fell Aedh himself [was] through him cross-wise, whilst he was giving that cast to him. And it is doubtful whether [lit. that] there was in Ireland at this time a man of Toirdelbach's age [years] that was better as man and as leader than he. The Castle of Tullach-Monghain was taken by Ua Raighilligh, namely, by John, son of Cathal, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh, at the end of a fortnight after that slaying and the descendants of Maelmordha of the *Mullach* went, with their cattle to meet Ua Raighilligh after *that slaying*.

The Annalists have frequent reference to the activities of the Clan O'Reilly from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Some of these have been already quoted. The *Annals of Ulster* have the following, with many others:—

A.D., 1161—Geoffrey Ua Raighilligh [Lord of Breifni] was killed.*

A.D., 1240—Ferghal, son of Cu-Connacht (O'Raighilligh) was killed by Maelruanaigh, son of Ferghal (and by Conchabur), son of Cormac [Mac Diarmata.] (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1282—Matthew (the Red) O'Raighilligh died. (Also in F.M. and in Loch Cé.)

A.D., 1293—Ferghal Ua Raighilligh, King of Muinnter-Maelmordha, died. (Also in F.M. and Loch Cé.)

A.D., 1296—Mael-Pedair O'Duibhgennain, Archdeacon of Breifni from Druim-Cliabh to Cenannus [ie., from Drumcliff to Kells] rested in Christ. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1330—Gilla-Isu Ua Raighilligh, King of Muinter-Maelmordha, and of all the Breifni for a long time, died a prosperous senior, after gaining victory from world and from demon. (Also in F.M. and Loch Cé.)

A.D., 1347—Finnghuala, daughter of Mail-Shechlaim Ua Raighillaigh died. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1349—Richard Ua Raighillaigh, King of [East] Breifni, died this year. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1365—Cu-Connacht Ua Raighillaigh, King of Breifni, went into the Friars of his own will—a spirited powerful King was he—and the kingship was given to Philip, namely, to his brother. (Also in F.M.)

* At Ceanannus by Mael-Sechlainn O'Ruaire according to the F.M.

A.D., 1367—Cu-Connacht Ua Raighillaigh, King of Breifni, died. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1369—Philip Ua Raighillaigh was taken prisoner and deposed by his own kinsmen, and he was put into the Rock of Loch-huachtair* (also in F.M.), and great hardship [inflicted] on him. And the kingship was taken by Maghnus Ua Raighillaigh. And great war arose in the Breifni through that.

A.D., 1432—Maelmordha Ua Raighilligh, junior, died. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1438—Ua Dalaigh of Breifni (namely, Aedh), that is, the Ollam of Ua Raighilligh in poetry, died this year. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1467—Ua Raighilligh, namely, Cathal, son of Eogan, son of John Ua Raighilligh, died in this year, and Toirdelbach, son of John Ua Raighilligh, was made King of his stead. [This under 1468 in the F.M.]

A.D., 1474—Brian, son of Feidhlimidh Ua Raighilligh, was captured this year by John, son of [the] Ua Raighilligh (namely, son of Toirdelbach Ua Raighilligh) and by the sons of Aedh Ua Raighilligh.

A.D., 1478—The Black Gillie, son of Brian, son of Feidhlimidh Ua Raighilligh, died. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1481—Brian, son of Feidhlimidh Ua Raighilligh, died this year: to wit [protecting] head of [bardic] bands and mendicants and the one who had the greatest knowledge and hospitality and guest-house that was in his own time. He died after victory of Unction and Penance. (Also in F.M.)

A.D., 1482 Maelmordha, son of Cathal Ua Raighilligh, was slain by the sons of Aedh Ua Raighilligh this year: to wit, a man of hospitality and prowess and an eminent leader without defect. And the sons of Aedh Ua Raighilligh came into the country again on peace [being made.] And the sons of Cathal made an inroad on them, and a house was taken on them, and the two sons of Aedh (namely, Feidhlimidh and Cathal) and the two sons of Feidhlimidh, son of Aedh, and many of the worthies of their people with them were slain.

A.D., 1484—Brian the Red, son of Cathal, son of Eogan, son of John Ua Raighilligh, died a fortnight before Christmas.

A.D., 1485—Feidhlimidh, son of Glaisne, son of Concobur Ua Raighilligh, died of the plague after the feast of [Holy] Cross in Harvest [Sept. 14.] (Same in F.M.)

1486—Marcella, daughter of John, son of Domnall, son of John, son of Domnall Ua Ferghail, namely, wife of Con-

* Lough Oughter.

cobur, son of Glaisne Ua Raighilligh was drowned or stifled in Ath-na-Boirne,* whatever the cause or who-ever did it.

A.D., 1489—Concubar, son of Glaisne Ua Raighilligh, died of a fit in Kells.

Conla Ua Maeltuile, namely, physician to Ua Raighilligh, died about the Feast of Brigit.

A.D., 1489—Richard, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Fergal Ua Raighilligh, was slain by the son of John Plunket, junior, two days after the feast of the Holy Cross in the Harvest.

A.D., 1490—Oed, son of Moilmorda, son of John Ua Raighilligh, was taken by the sons of Glaisne, son of Concobur Ua Raighilligh, after the plundering of the town of Thomas, son of Glaisne, by him. (Same in F.M.)

A.D., 1490—Edward, son of Nicholas, son of Christopher Plunket, was taken and plundered on the Nones [5th] of June by the sons of Cathal, son of Eogan, son of John Ua Raighilligh.

A.D., 1491—Ua Raighilligh, namely, John, son of Toirdelbach, son of John Ua Raighilligh, to wit, a distinguished youth died this year in the beginning of his felicity and was buried in the monastery of Cavan, the 25th day of the month of November, namely, the feast day of Catherine. And John, son of Cathal, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh, was made Ua Raighilligh. Cathal, son of Toirdelbach Ua Raighilligh, drew the Earl of Kildare on that Ua Raighilligh, junior, and on his kinsmen and destruction of crops and chattels was done by the host of the Foreigners to the country, and the son of Mac Balronta was taken by the sons of Cathal from the host of the Foreigners and two horsemen from them were drowned, and the son of Edmond, son of Thomas, son of Feidhlimidh Ua Raighilligh . . . . . was slain by the host. (Same in F.M.)

Great raids [were made] this year by James, son of Earl Thomas† on the sons of Glaisne, son of Concobur Ua Raighilligh.

A.D., 1492—Great raids were made this year by Cathal, son of Toirdelbach Ua Raighilligh, and by the sons of Mag Mathgamna, (that is, Redmund), namely, Glaisne and Brian and by Gilla-Padraig, son of Aedh Mag Mathgamna, junior, at the instigation of Cathal Ua Raighilligh, on Ua Raighilligh, namely, on John, son of Cathal, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh and on his kinsmen also, in the end of summer.

Other great raids were made about these same times by

* Ath-na-boirne. This name signifies the ford of the rocky lands. It appears to be identical with the present townland of "Burnew" at Killinkere. The Down Survey (1654) has "Bourne."

† Earl of Kildare, obit. 1477.

Ua Raighilligh in the sons of Glaisne Ua Raighilligh and the son of John Mag Mathgamna the Tawny, namely, John, was slain in pursuit of those preys by the sons of Glaisne and Garret, son of Edmond, son of Thomas, son of Feidhlimidh Ua Raighilligh, was taken on the same pursuit by them. (Same in F.M.)

A.D., 1496—Edmond, son of Domnall Ua Raighilligh, died this year.

A.D., 1497—Cathal, son of Toirdelbach, son of John, son of Eogan Ua Raighilligh, died of an attack of the glandular disease about Lammas.

A.D., 1502—Inroad was made by O'Raighilligh, namely, by John, son of Cathal Ua Raighilligh, on Philip, son of Toirdelbach Mag Uidhir [Maguire] and the level part of the country above Clann-Amhlaim [Clanawley in Fermanagh] was traversed and burned by them and Edmond son of Philip Mac Amhlain, the Swarthy, and 5 or 6 others were slain by them. And there were slain from that host, to wit, the son of Ua Raighilligh, namely, Domnall of the Plain* and the son of Mac Mael-Martain, namely, Cosccobar. (Same in F.M.)

A.D., 1503—The Mape was slain [this] year in his own castle† by the sons of Edmund, son of Glaisne Ua Raighilligh, and great war arose between Foreigners and Gaedhil from that and great injuries also [came] on the Foreigners from that war and Fitz Simon was slain by the Gaedhil and so on.

A.D., 1506—Aedh the Red, son of Glaisne Mag Mathgamna, was slain by O'Raighilligh, namely, by John, son of Cathal O'Raighilligh and by his sons this year. (Same in F.M.)

A.D., 1514—A hosting by the Earl of Kildare, namely, Gerald, son of Gerald, Justiciary of Ireland, against O'Raighilligh, whereon he broke down the Castle of Cavan and O'Raighilligh, namely, Aodh, son of Cathal O'Raighilligh and many of the nobles of his territory with him were closed in upon and slain. And MacCaba was taken there. (Same in F.M.)

A.D., 1537—The Saxons went into the Breifne of O'Raighilligh on a [raiding] march and many of its people were slain by them and the son of O'Raighilligh, namely, of the Sternness, was slain by them.

A.D., 1538—Cathair the Morose, son of O'Raighilligh, an eminent leader, was slain by the Saxons this year.

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* "Magh"—Muff, a little to the west of Kingscourt, Co. Cavan. Also mentioned in the "O'Reilly Pedigree." (ante.) See also this *Journal*. p. 59.

† Maperath, a few miles north-west of Ceanannus or Kells, Co. Meath.

The *Annals of Loch Cé* record in A.D., 1565:—

> "O'Raighilligh, i.e., Maelmordha, son of John, son of Cathal, the best man that ever came of his own sept, and than whom there seldom came of the race of Gaeidhel Glas a better person, according to the information and knowledge of all regarding him—i.e., a man to whom God granted all the virtues at first, viz., the palm of eloquence, the palm of knowledge and learning, the palm of sense and counsel, the palm of bounty and prowes; (and it would not be wonderful that luck should attend the man of these virtues; and for these reasons he was elected chief king over the Ui Raighilligh)—was put to death while detained in captivity by Foreigners."

The same *Annals* record A.D., 1584:—

> John, son of Aedh Conallach, was made the O'Raighilligh by the Foreigners, in presence of the sons of the Maelmordha O'Raighilligh who were senior to him; and the sons of Maelmordha destroyed the entire country after that.

Many other references in the various Annals testify to the importance of, and power wielded by, the O'Reilly Clan in Southern Breiffni for at least six centuries. The Clan Maelmordha which resided at Mullagh appears to have possessed the present Barony of Castlerahan with portions of the adjoining Baronies of Clonkee, Clonmahan, and Loughtee in Cavan and Lower Kells in Meath. The boundaries of the territory possessed by the Clan were never permanent, but varied, as was usually the case, according to the powers which the Clan could wield in repelling the invasions of the neighbouring clans who were ever tending to extend their boundaries. The O'Reilly Clan maintained its rule over Eastern Breffni until the year 1584 when Lord Deputy Perrott formed it into the present County of Cavan.

The names of many people living in the district of Mullagh in the sixteenth century are recorded in the *Fiants* of Elizabeth. We find that a pardon was granted in 1584 to "Owen M'Gerald O'Reyle of *Mollache*," under date 24th November. Pardon was granted under date 12th June, 1586, to "Phelim Meyle M'Symon of *Claghvelle*, kern": "Pelim Meale M'Ferrall M'Symon of *Claghcogie*, kern," and also to Fersy M'Kinlea of *Claghvalle* husbandman." Under the same date we have record of "Ternan M'Gillepatrick Magarnan, of *Letrom*," and "Patrick M'Donnell Magrowry of *Greaughnedaroughe*." In the same year is mentioned "Shane M'Cowchonaght O'Lynce of *Mollagh*." Pardon was granted on 6th March, 1592, to "Phelym Moyll M'Symon of *Claghvolly*," and "Trelagh M'Ferrall O'Reighly of *Crosreagh*." By Lord Deputy's warrant, dated 9th June, 1602, pardon was granted to "Shane O'Reyley, of *Molaghe*"; "Hugh M'Ferrall O'Reyley of *Clonvikmarorçhe*"; "Ferrall Oge M'Ferrall O'Reylie

of *Ardloho*." The place-names mention in those *Fiants* will be easily recognised. "Claghvelle" and its other varied spelling is now *Cloughbally* where the old Castle of Mullagh was situated. "Greaughredarroughe" is now *Greaghnadarragh*; "Clonvikma rorche" is *Clonmacmara* and "Ardloho" is *Ardlow*. "Letrom" now *Leitrim*, is a townland which, though in Cavan, now belongs to the diocese of Meath.

It is evident that the district of Mullagh took its name from the present Hill of Mullagh which is situated about the centre of the ancient district and adjacent to O'Reilly Castle. The name *Mullach*, in the topographical sense, generally means a hill or eminence, sometimes of considerable elevation, it is of very common occurrence as a root word in Irish place-name formation. The frequent references to Mullagh made in the Annals and elsewhere help to fix definitely the original name. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* has *Mullach*; the *Annals of the Four Masters* (1485 and 1495 A.D) have *Mullach*, and again (1488 A.D.) have *Mullach-Laoighill* and also (1485 A.D.) *Mullagh*. The *Fiants* of Eliz., just quoted, write it *Mollache* (1584 A.D.); *Mollagh* (1586 A.D.), and *Molaghe* (1602 A.D.) The Act of Settlement Grants (1666 A.D.) have *Mullagh*. The 1609 Plantation Map has *Mollach* and the Down Survey (1654) *Mullagh*. The *Mullach-Laighill* (or *Mullach-Laoighill*) of the Annalists is evidently the older name of district and the name by which it was known locally from very early times. The Annalists also use the form *the Mullach* showing that the Clan Maelmordha were termed "of the Hill" on account of the proximity of their Castle to it. The name Laoighill appears to have been a personal one. In his explanatory notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters* (Vol. iv., p. 1161) O'Donovan says:— "This name (Mullach-Laoighill) is still remembered as the ancient Irish appellation of the hill at the little village of Mullagh in south-east Cavan. It is locally explained as 'hill or summit of the bright day,' but we know that Laoighill, now anglicised Lyle, was very common as a man's name among the ancient Irish." The older form would, therefore, seem to have been heard locally by O'Donovan when he visited the district during his topographical investigations in 1836. The name is still preserved, but in a slightly disguised and unintelligible form, in the townland of "Mullagh-land." This represents the ancient Mullach-Laighill. O'Donovan does not seem to have heard this anglicised form as it would have certainly aroused his indignation.

The O'Reilly Clan gradually lost its independence from the middle of the sixteenth century. We find in 1565 an order to the Privy Council issued from Mynterconaghe (Munterconnacht) in which is announced:—

> Conclusion or order between O'Reilly, Hugh and Edmund his sons, and the English Pale. Promising to make restitution of the hurts done and also to follow up Cahir O'Reilly.

Then follows the names of the hostages and date, June 30th, 1565. (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1565, p. 267.)

Then follows the names of the hostages and date, June 30th, (Do. 1584, p. 391.):—

> Indenture 28th November, 27 Eliz between Sir John Perrot, Lord Deputy General of Ireland and the Council and Sir John O'Rely of the Cavan in Co. Cavan, commonly called O'Rely's country.
>
> O'Rely covenants to surrender in the Court of Chancery all the said country and the towne called Clanmahon now the Barony of Rathkmavyn; the towne of Castellrayne now the Barony of Castellrayne, etc.

The Barony of Castlerahan is included in the general survey of confiscated lands in Cavan carried out by Sir John Davys in 1610. His reports and correspondence in the State Papers of this period furnish many interesting particulars of the dispossessing of the native owners. Pynnar's Survey of Ulster, taken in 1618-9, gives the names as follows of the servitors who obtained grants in the Barony of Castlerahan* with the name of the district and the number of acres allotted to each:—

> Sir William Taaffe—1,000 acres called *Mullagh*; Sir Edmund Fettiplace—1,000 acres called *Carevyn*; Lieut. Roger Garth—500 acres called *Murmode*; Captain John Ridgeway —1,000 acres called *Loch Rammor*; Sir John Elliott—400 acres called *Muckon*.

The grant of Mullagh in 1610 to Sir William Taaffe is described by Pynnar:—

> Sir William Taaffe was the first patentee. Sir Thomas Ash, Knight, holdeth 1,000 acres called *Mullach*. Upon this Proportion there is an old Castle new mended; but all the Land is now inhabited with Irish.

This extract shows that the old Castle of Mullagh was repaired and taken over by the servitors as a residence. The names of the townlands included in the grant and comprising the 1,000 acres allotted to Sir William Taaffe are given as follows by Hill. (*Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343):

> Cloughpalleybege, one poll† Mullagh, Lislasseragh and Lecke, two polls; Cornaglare, one poll; Cornagleigh, two polls; Killchony, one poll; Dromratt, one poll; Colkagh, one poll; Clonvickmaragh, one poll; Cashellsilloge and Carraghgloone, one poll; Arlogh, two polls; Crossereogh, one poll;

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* The details of the grants of the other divisions, viz—Carvyn, Murmode, and Loch Rammor, in the Barony of Castlerahan will be dealt with in a later paper.

† Here seen to be about 55 acres, but see short Article on "Old Land Measures in Cavan."

Killaghdough, one poll; Carnelinch, two polls; Lurganile, one poll; in all 1,000 acres. Rent 8 pounds English. The premises are created the manor of Mullagh with 300 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin in common soccage and subject to the conditions of the Plantation of Ulster. Dated 1610.

Hill gives the following account of Taaffe:—

This undertaker had proved himself a very distinguished servitor, although of Irish birth. His family was very ancient and of great repute in the counties of Louth and Sligo. Sir William Taaffe, styled of Harleston, Ballymote and Smarmore, appears to have rendered signal services to the Crown during the war against Hugh O'Neill. This grant of 1,000 acres in Cavan was but a small part of the reward bestowed in return by the Crown. In 1592 Elizabeth granted him extensive Crown lands in Connaught without fine; and James I. granted him lands in the counties of Waterford, Cavan, Cork, Sligo, Louth, Dublin, Kerry, Longford, Meath, Westmeth, Mayo, Tipperary and Queen's County. In his will, which was made in 1630, he directs that he was to be buried at Ardee where his ancestors lay, and that his son, Sir John Taaffe, should cause a monument, costing 50 pounds, to be erected at his grave. His son and heir was created Viscount Taaffe.

The division described as *Muckon* in Pynnar's Survey lay to the north of Mullagh, and included the district around Cornakill, Lislin and Killeter. Pynnar thus describes the grant:—

400 acres. Sir John Elliott, Kt., holdeth 400 acres called Muckon. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of lyme and stone 60 feet square, and a small House, all the land being inhabited with Irish.

The details of the townlands are given by Hill (*Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343.)

Grant to Sr John Elliott, Baron of the Exchequer, Kileronehan, four polls, viz—Aghamada, Aghnemona, Morleagh and Lishlin; Killi-Ighter, Cornekilly, Carrowronicke and Clonarney, one poll each in all 400 acres. Rent, 3 pounds 4 shillings. The premises are erected the manor of Kileronehan with 300 acres in demesne and a Court Baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin, etc. Dated 8th Nov. 1610.

The townland names are a little disguised in the somewhat arbitrary spellings of the early seventeenth century Surveyors, but a reference to the Plantation and Down Survey Maps will serve to easily identify them. Economy of space debars the discussion of their identity here.

The Plantation in the reign of James I. of England did not materially alter the native ownership of the land. In most cases

the Undertakers retained the native Irish as tenants. The coming of Charles I. to the English throne witnessed a slight relaxation of the rigors of the Plantation Code. But during the Commonwealth and after the Restoration in 1660 the final confiscations took place. The Act of Settlement Grants give in detail the native owners in 1641 with the names of the grantees. The following extract from the *Books of Survey and Distribution by the Down Survey* for portion of the "Parish of Killinkeare in the Barony of Castlerahan" is of importance as "shewing whose the Forfeited Lands were in 1641, and to whom now set out by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation."

In the list the names of Proprietors in 1641 are at head; the names of the Grantees on the right. In the first column the numbers are the references by which the townlands are indicated in the Down Survey. As to the letters, C signifies Termon (or Church) land; B, M. and L, bog, mountain, and lake, respectively.

KILLINKERE PARISH. CASTLERAHAN BARONY.

			A	R	P					
C.	1	Killinkeare	175	0	32					
	B	Two Parcels the same	31	1	32	unprofitable				Church Land belonging to the Bishop of Killmore.
	1:2	Latroran mortgaged to Burrns Kt.	95	2	24					
	2:B	Of the same	16	3	24	unprofitable				
C.	1:1	Part of Killinkeare	100	3	8					
C.	2	Rachonacke	108	2	6					130.
C.	3	Roantavan	377	2	32					Church Land by Lord Lambert, English Protestant.
C.	4	Beagh	311	3	24					Glebe Land last in possession of Daniel Creno, Protestant Minister.
		Of the same	7	0	0	unprofitable				
	4:B	Of the same	65	0	16	unprofitable				
		Patrick Brady, Irish Papist.								
	25	Greaghadosen, Aghaclofin and Greaghlough	915	0	0					Lord Massarene by Certificate 10th July, 1668. Roll 7, p. 927.
	L	Of the same	17	0	0	unprofitable				

			A	R	P					
	26	Slegolly, part	89	3	8		89	3	8	
	26:B	Of the same	163	0	32		163	0	32	
	27	Carricknafeagh	188	2	16		188	2	16	Lord Massarene by Certificate as above Reprise
	28	Corridona	109	0	16		109	0	16	
	29	Inorgoroge	104	1	24		27	0	0	
	29:B	Of the same	126	2	0	unprofitable	77	1	24	
	30	Togher	132	2	0		132	2	0	
	30:B	Of the same	8	1	8	unprofitable				Charles Davenport by Certificate 1st March, 1666. Roll 4, p. 176.
	31	Drumtaman	107	2	32		107	2	32	
	31:B	Two parcels of the same	20	0	32					
		Philip Reilly, Irish Papist.								131.
	32	Carygorman	210	2	32		210	2	32	Charles Davenport by Cert. 1st March, 1666. Roll 4, p. 176.
	33	Fartidreene	32	2	0		32	2	0	
	33.M	Of the same	84	3	24	unprofitable				
		Lawrence Dowdall, Esq., Irish Papist.								
	34	Carnelinshe	217	1	24		217	1	24	
	M	Of the same	28	2	0	unprofitable				Charles Davenport by Cert ut supra
	35	Carnegaran	244	1	8		244	1	8	
	35.M	Of the same	66	2	16	unprofitable				

		A	R	P				
	Of the same	6	2	0		73	1	24	Charles Davenport by Cert R. 4, 176.
36	Trinternagh	150	1	8	Abraham Clements by Cert. 4 Jan., 1666 Roll 1, 737	177	1	24	
36:B	Of the same	51	2	32					Lord Massarene by Cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, 927.
	Part of Carnegaren	16	3	8	unprofitable				Daniel Clement by Cert. 10 July, 1668, R. 7, 927.
37	Crosreagh	99	3	24		86	2	27	
37:B	Of the same	109	2	0	unprofitable	13	0	27	Lord Massarene by Reprise Cert. 10 July, 1668.
38	Clowne M'Marren	56	3	24					Lord Massarene by Cert. ut supra, Roll 7, 927.
39	Correrouke	203	1	8					
40	Corneglare	139	2	16		142	0	0	James Mortimer by Cert. 21 Sept., 1668, R 1, 604.
40:B	Of the same	77	0	32					

		A	R	P				
41	Carneglea	154 112	1 0	24 6	Lord Massarene by Cert 10 July, 1668 R. 6, 927.	42	1	18	James Mortimer by Cert. ut supra
						195	3	37	James Mortimer by Cert. 21 Sept., 1666, R 1, 604.
42	Killeater	258	0	32					
42 B	Of the same	21	1	24	unprofitable	62	1	5	James Mortimer by Cert. 7 July, 1668, R. 7, 195.
43	Lislune	139	2	0		143	0	0	James Mortimer by Cert. 21 Sept., 1666, R. 1, 604.
43 B	Of the same	98	1	24	unprofitable				
44	Cornekelly	182	3	8		143	0	0	James Mortimer by Cert. 7 July, 1668, R. 7, 195.
44 B	Of the same	454	1	8	unprofitable	39	3	8	
45	Cloghwelly Beg	56	2	16	201 1 4	31	0	0	Col Robt. Sanderson by Cert. 22 June, 1666.
45 L	Of the same					78	0	0	James Mortimer by Cert. 7 July, 1668. R. 77, 195.
						92	1	24	James Mortimer, Reprise by Cert. 7 July, 1668. R. 4, 195.

		A	R	P					
46	Mullagh	301	2	32					Col. Robert Sanderson by Cert. 22 June, 1666, R. 2, 146.
47	Leitrim	250	2	16					Col. Robert Sanderson by Cert. 22 June, 1666, R. 2, 146.
47:B	Of the same	6	3	0	unprofitable				
48	Aghamodoe	120	1	8					Col. Robert Sanderson by Cert. dated ut supra.
49	Quelcagh and Drumratt	179	2	32		142 18 18	0 3 3	0 1 31	Lord Massarene by Cert. 10 July, 1666, R. 7, 927.
50	Lurganveele	128	2	32					
51	Ardlough	105	2	0					
51:B	Of the same	39	0	0	unprofitable	128	2	32	Lord Massarene by Cert.
51:M	Of the same	143	0	0		105	2	0	ut supra

Mr James Betagh, Irish Papist.

52	Clovernaleno-wrath	152	3	8					Col. Robert Sanderson by Cert. 22 June. 1666. R. 2, 146.
52:M	Of the same	196	2	16	unprofitable	261	0	16	
52:B	Of the same	108	1	8					
52:L	Of the same	21	2	16					

134.

Henry Elliott, Irish Papist.

		A	R	P					
53	Acnamadran and Archtkillibride	302	3	8					Col. Sanderson by Cert. as above.
G B	A Great Redd Bog of the adjacent towns	1709	1	24	unprofitable				
54	Cloghwellyotra	172	0	32					Earle of Fingall, Decreed in Fee, viz., Innocent, Roll 3.
	Cloghwellyeitra	157	0	0					

David Kellett, English Protestant.

A	Corfad and Meltran	331	3	0					

Earl of Fingall, Irish Papist.

56	Cloghergoole	96	0	0					Earle of Fingall decreed in Fee as aobve.

Glasney Reilly, Irish Papist.

57	Enagl.	78	0	0		13	3	18	Col Sanderson by Cert. 22 June, 1666, R. 2, 146.

135.

		A	R	P					
B	Of the same	5	0	0	unprofitable	64	0	22	Lord Massarene, Reprise by Cert. 10 July, 1668, R. 7, 927.

Philip O'Reilly, Irish Papst.

1	Cornekelly	84	2	8	profitable				Disposed of to Thos. Coote Esq., by Cert. 10 May, 1667, R. 4, 749.
2	Drumfomeny	214	1	4					Alexander Piggott by Cert. 8 May, 1668. R. 7, 36.
2:B	Of the same	77	2	32		Plantation Measure			
3	Assan	97	0	0					Alexander Pigott, as above R. 7, 36.
4	Crossbane	157	0	16					
5	Greaghlogh	136	3	8					
6	Skehard	171	3	24					
7	Drumsawry	9	3	8					To Thos. Coote, Esq., by Cert. 10 May, 1667.
8	Corcarnagh	73	0	0					
9	Carnabest	75	2	0					
9:B	Of the same	8	1	24	unprofitable				Roll 4, p. 749.
10	Ankernoght	159	1	8					
10:B	Of the same	24	3	24	unprofitable				
10:B	Of the same.	356	2	32	unprofitable				
11	Lisnehederny	125	3	24					

James Reilly, Irish Papist.

		A	R	P					
12	Drumullaght	112	3	24					

Thomas O'Gowen, Irish Papist

13	Curragheakall	498	1	24		232 266	1 0	24 0	Disposed of to Lord Massarene by Cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, 927.
14	Creaghduffe	126	0	0					Thos. Coote, Esq., by Cert 10 May, 1667, R. 4, 749.
14:B	Of the same	93	0	0		219	0	0	
16	Laragnenure	126	1	8					

Hugh O'Reilly, Irish Papist.

17	Billy and Killyduffe	287	0	0		128 287	1 0	8 0	Thos. Coote, as above, to William Cosby, Esq., by Cert. 26 June, 1666, R. 1, 367.
18	Bourne	124	0	0					
19	Drumaderdaglasse and Latester and Liscappul	109	0	8					Thos. Coote, Esq., Cert. 10 May, 1667, R. 4, 749.
19:B	Cornedon	109	2	0					
20	Drumhollan	114	0	8					Alex. Piggott by Cert. 8 May, 1668. R. 7, 36.
21	Bracklone	112	0	32					

		A	R	P		
21:B	Of the same	64	1	24	unprofitable	
22	Scrackinfert	90	0	16		
23	Kilmore	140	3	8		
23:M	Of the same	38	0	24	unprofitable	140 3 8
24	Downe	118	2	0	unprofitable	118 2 0

Thos. Coote, Esq., by Cert. 10 May, 1667, R. 4 749.

William Cosby, Esq., Cert. 26 June, 1666, R. 1, 367.

This finishes the Parish of "Killinkeare." The unprofitable land was not included in calculating the acreage allotted to each new owner. The list was drawn up in connection with the Down Survey. The "Books of Survey and Distribution" for the County Cavan are to be found in the P.R.O., Dublin, and also in the Library of the R.I.A.

TEAMPULL CEALLAIGH.

The old Church of *Teampull Ceallaigh* appears to have shared the trials and vicissitudes of the O'Reilly Clan. We have already seen the statement in the *O'Reilly Prodigree* that in a dispute between rival sections of the Clan the church was burned and interments ceased for a long time. This indicates that the church was under the patronage and protection of the O'Reilly Clan and was the burial place of its members. The old church, the ruins of which stand in the churchyard, was one of the old "hospitals"* of pre-Reformation days. Those Hospitals or "Hospital Churches" seem to have served as Parish Churches. Cavan had 44 of them. These Hospitals were minor religious foundations endowed by the Chieftains of the district with a portion of land known as *termon* land which was to be free for ever. It is not possible to fix the exact date of their erection, and the Annals give no information concerning them. But these churches were inferior in structure to those found in other parts of the country. They seem to have served the purpose of Parish Churches until the troubles of the 16th century became responsible for their suppression and confiscation. The returns of the Parish Churches in County Monaghan in the "Grand Inquisition of Ulster" in 1591 look exactly like those for the Hospitals of Cavan. In the Inquisition of 1620 we find that only eighteen churches in the Diocese of Kilmore were then used for church services.

The Church of Teampull Ceallaigh together with its termon lands is included in the townland of Rantavan. This is confirmed by the Down Survey Map. An Inquisition to define the endowments of the Termon lands in County Cavan was held at Cavan on 19th September 1590 (32 Eliz. *Exchequer Inquisitions* No. 3, Public Record Office, Dublin) before Edward Herbert, Sheriff of Cavan, and Rosse Connor of the County of Cavan. In the list (for which I am indebted to Father Meehan) we find *Rantavin* containing 2 polls or cartrons of yearly value 2 shillings. The extent of a poll or cartron is here about 12 acres. In a list of the "Crown lands and tithes now on lease from the King of Ireland" in 1666 (*Cal. of State Papers, Ireland*, 1666, p.

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*For a list of the "Hospitals" of Cavan see last short Article in this Journal.

60) we find *Fayñtavin* as one of the Hospitals with termon land assigned to Sir Garrett Moore. This is obviously Rantavan. Among those who gave evidence before the 1590 Inquisition was "Owen M'Gerroit O'Reylie, of Mullagh, gent." This is doubtless the Owne M'Gerald O'Reyle mentioned in the *Fiants* of Eliz. of 1581 (ante cit.) The entry in the list of Hospitals in Cavan given by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.* Vol. I., p. 72) is similar to, and appears to have been copied from the report of the 1590 Inquisition. It also reads: "Rantavin, two cartrons of land: annual value, 2 shillings."

The present glebe-land of Rantavin corresponds with the old termon land which was attached to the Hospital of Teampull Ceallaigh. The termon lands were confiscated after the Inquisition of 1590, and by 1620 the dissolution appears to have been complete. The Plantation Map of 1609 shows most of the Hospitals in ruins. Other hospitals in the district were—Moybolge, Lurgan, and Rahawna (Raffony.)

The *Patent and Close Rolls* of 1626 describe the grants to John Gowan, Vicar of Mullagh.

> To John Gowan, Rector or Vicar of the Parish of Mullagh, otherwise Killynkeare is assigned the lands of Vehagh, otherwise Breaghbane and Breaghreagh, two poles in or near the proportion of Carrignaveagh in the Barony of Castleraghan.*

In the *Act of Settlement Grañts* of 1669 we find that Rev. Patrick Maxwell† held the rectory of Mullagh. He is described as "Incumbent of Mullagh, the impropriate tythe of the parish of Mullagh, also Killinkere, Ballyclanephillip and Templecally for ever." This shows that Rev. Patrick Maxwell was in possession of *impropriate* tithes of several benefices. Such tithes were those held by religious houses *in proprios usus*. They might collect them themselves, but they often let them out in farm to anyone who would pay a fixed amount and recover what he could from the parishioners. These impropriate tithes were confiscated to the Crown at the suppression, and were leased, sold, or granted, like the monasteries.

These Hospitals appear to have been parish churches with the termon lands as their endowments. The origin of the term Hospital as applied to those churches is not apparent. Some of these churches may have been served by Friars, one of whom, perhaps, taught and practised medicine. Those communities exercised the calling of physicians, and from the numerous references in MSS. preserved in Continental libraries it is seen that the early monks were diligent students of medicine. As early as the 6th century the Irish missionaries had established institutions on the Continent known as "*hospitalia scotorum*" which, having

* Morrin's *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls*, 1626, p. 188.

† See Mason's "Parochial Record," Vol. I. p. 147 for mention of other rectors of this Parish.

fallen into decay, were restored by order of the Council of Meaux, A.D., 845. However, "hospitalia scotorum," sometimes termed *domus hospitalis* and hospitum, were designations sometimes applied to hospices or houses of refuge for Irish, and other, pilgrims on the Continent. Hospitals, as at present understood, existed in these early monasteries, but they were called *infirmitoria*. Various Decrees were promulgated from the 12th to the 14th century forbidding Priests and Monks to practise medicine; e.g., Pope Boniface VI. at the end of the 13th century and Clement V. at Avignon, early in the 14th century, issued such. From that time the practice of medicine by the Monks ceased, but the term Hospital continued to be applied to their churches even when they became mere parish churches. The fact of their being afterwards called Hospitals might indeed have been a device of the subtlety of the lawyers in order to bring them within the scope of the Act of Suppression of Henry VIII. and so to compass their confiscation.

We can now summarise our information concerning the old church of *Teampull Ceallaigh* (locally known as *Kelly's Church.*) Its foundation was consequent to the rise of the powerful O'Reilly Clan who endowed and protected it from about the time of the Norman invasion in the 12th century until the dissolution of the monastic foundations at the close of the 16th century. The passing away of the O'Reilly Clan from its state of lordship over Southern Breiffni witnessed the decline and decay of the Church of Teampull Ceallaigh. In 1620 it does not seem to have been used for religious services, as it is not mentioned in the Inquisition of that year as being among the churches then in use. The passage quoted above from the *O'Reilly Pedigree* shows that the churchyard was used for interments at least in the 15th century, so we can easily understand its great age and pre-Reformation importance. The church was burned during a feud between rival sections of the O'Reilly Clan. This indicates that the local Clan were its patrons and protectors. We are also told that interments ceased in the churchyard "for a long time." Doubtless the old church was repaired afterwards and served as the parish church until the beginning of the 17th century. It is interesting to note that it is called *Templeçally* in the Act of Settlement Grants of 1669. The old church, new in ruins in the churchyard, is a typical pre-Reformation structure, small in size and devoid of ornamentation. It measures about 30 feet long by 21 feet wide, and has a few plain windows. The workmanship is of the plainest type and shows that it dates from about the 16th century. A local tradition has it that in post-Reformation times it was used for Protestant services. If so, the building may have been kept in repair down to comparatively modern times. The present Protestant Church of Mullagh stands adjacent to the old churchyard which has been extended around it. It was erected in 1819

at an expense of £1,107, a loan from the Board of First Fruits. The Glebe-house was built in 1822 by a loan from the same Board.*

The name *Teampull Ceallaigh*, which signifies the Church of St. *Ceallach*, suggests at once the name of its patron. O'Donovan refers to† a St. Kellachan whose festival was observed in the autumn, but says that the precise day is not remembered locally. He then suggests a *St. Ceallach*. This is obviously correct and can be inferred from the name *Teampull Ceallaigh* as written in the *O'Reilly Pedigree* (loc. cit.) However, O'Donovan does not give the date of the pattern. The feast day of St. Ceallagh is mentioned in the *Felire of Aengus* under Oct. 7th. This St. Ceallach seems to be the patron of the ancient church. However, as many Saint Ceallachs are known to our Irish hagiologists, it is not easy to distinguish between them. For example, a St. Cealach of Killala is commemorated on the 1st May and another St. Ceallach on the 2nd June. But in the present case St. Ceallach, Abbot of Ceanannus or Kells, appears to be the patron. The *Annals of Ulster* record A.D., 813:—

Cellach, abbot of Ia [Iona], the building of the Church of Cenannas being finished resigned the abbacy. The same *Annals* record his death A.D., 814, when he is called "Cellach, son of Congal, Abbot of Ia." We may then accept, tentatively, Ceallach, whose feast-day occurs on October 7th, as the patron of the Church, whose memory is perpetuated in the churchyard of Teampull Ceallaigh. It is easily seen that his name would be anglicised "Kelly."

According to local tradition the patron of the Parish is St. Kilian, the martyr of Franconia in Germany, whose feast day occurs on July 8. His Holy Well is in the townland of Cloughballybeg. He was martyred A.D. 688, with his companions, St. Colman and St. Totnan, and his relics are still preserved in a magnificent silver shrine under the High Altar of Wurtzburg cathedral. Throughout Germany, and especially in Franconia, there are many churches dedicated to St. Kilian, and his feast day is celebrated every year with elaborate ceremony. An ancient illuminated copy in Irish handwriting of the Latin Gospels belonging to St. Kilian, and traditionally believed to have been stained with his blood, is now preserved in the Library of the University of Wurtzburg. In Italy also his name is venerated. The present writer has seen a handsome statue of the martyr, sculptured by an eminent Italian artist, occupying a prominent position in the

* Lewis' "Topographical Dictionary of Ireland" (Vol. ii., p. 409.)

† "Ordnance Survey Letters," Cavan, p. 64.

†Vide O'Hanlon, "Lives of the Irish Saints," Vol. VII., July 8; "Dict. Nat. Biog." S. V. Cilian; "Cath. Encyclopaedia," S V Kilian.

great Cathedral of Milan. His festival is universally observed on July 8th.

Although many ancient *Lives* of St. Kilian are extant, some of them written at a period not long after his death, we are not told in any of them where he was born or educated. Even the date of his birth is not mentioned, but it was probably about the year 640. But he is traditionally connected with the Parish of Mullagh, and his festival is observed on July 8th. Although no mention is made of Mullagh, or indeed of any other place in Ireland, in the Lives of St. Kilian, yet the local tradition is here quite distinct and must be recognised. The well-known Irish poet, John Keegan Casey, composed a very beautiful poem dealing with Kilian, his connection with the Mullagh district, and his life and missionary labours. It was published* in 1866. How St. Kilian spent his infancy in the district of Mullagh is thus described:—

Nursed beneath an Irish mountain by an Irish mother's hand
Where the mild Borora whispers to the meadows of the land,
Taught the music of the harper and the anthems of the blest,
Kilian grew as grows the ash-tree by the ruins of the west.

Winter stars that light in splendour Eire's calm and solemn sky,
Might have borrowed their chaste brightness from the gleaming of his eye,
The young lily bending lowly when the dew is in the air,
Was a type of his meek spirit when his young lips moved in prayer.

Showing how the Saint passed from Iona (where some writers state that he ruled as Abbot for a time) to Gaul on his mission, Casey writes:—

Did he think of lordly Mullagh, or Borora's brown-eyed stream,
Of the bright days of his childhood and his country's sunny gleam?
No, he saw but fair Franconia, with its skies of tesselled blue,
And the crown, a palm, his bosom was a-yearning ever to.

The departure of St. Kilian and his companions from Ireland took place about the year 686. They sailed for the shores of France, and on landing, proceeded towards Franconia and reached the present site of the city of Wurtzburg. This fine city is now the capital of Franconia and is situated on the River Main.

* "A wreath of Shamrocks: Ballads, Songs and Legends," by John K. Casey, pp. 116 to 131. For an account of the poet see article towards the end of this Journal.

When the Saint reached the place it was then only a small village with a castle in which lived the then ruler of Wurtzburg, a nobleman named Prince Gosbert. This nobleman was converted to Christianity by the Saint. However, the consort of Prince Gosbert, Geilana by name, came into conflict with St. Kilian and, in the absence of the Prince, planned his assassination. Having found assassins to execute her scheme, the martyrdom of St. Kilian and his companions was accomplished on the 8th July, A.D., 688.

In the poem Casey shows how the Saint was martyred at the instigation of Geilana:—

'Twas the midnight hour that found them kneeling at the sacred shrine,
Kilian and his companions hallowed with the light divine,
Wandered back his memory's pulses to the lonely Breffni glen,
And the mountains and the river he was ne'er to see again.

Fluttered past him in the darkness with the gold-encrested head,
The sweet bird whose dulcet music ever charmed his nightly bed,
'Twas the signal that the hour of his boyhood's dream was nigh,
When his head would wear the nimbus of the martyred ones on high.

Hush! to-night we break for ever through the dark earth's chilly bars;
Make you ready, for the Angels trace a pathway through the stars.
Shone a bright gleam in the darkness and a red assassin's hand
Pierced the pure breasts of St. Kilian and the chosen of his band.

About the year 752 by order of Pope Zachary the remains of the Martyrs were translated to a shrine at Mount Saint Mary, near Wurtzburg. When the present Cathedral of Wurtzburg was erected, a shrine was prepared within its walls for the reception of the Martyr's remains where they are still the object of special veneration, and visited by thousands of pilgrims every year.

The traditional connection of St. Kilian with the Parish of Mullagh has been maintained unbroken down the centuries. Traditional information, handed down from time immemorial, even though uncorroborated by literary proof, is *prima facie* evidence of the facts to which it bears testimony, and is sufficient to justify belief in the absence of other proof or contradiction. According to the Irish Calendars there have been many saints bearing the name Killin, or Cillin, many undistinguished by Pedigree even when the names of their places are mentioned. It is very difficult to decide among those Killins (e.g., a St. Cillin of Tehallan, Co. Monaghan, is noted on May 27 in the Calendars) and in most cases one has to rely on local tradition. Canon O'Hanlon* while noting that St. Kilian, the Apostle of Franconia, is traditionally connected with Mullagh, is inclined to believe that St. Caillin of Fenagh, Co. Leitrim, (already mentioned) whose feast day occurs on Nov. 13, is intended. However, this is merely conjecture. No reference to Mullagh can be found in the *Book of Fenagh*, a work which records minutely this Saint's life.

We have now to distinguish between St. Ceallach, patron of the ancient church, and St. Kilian, patron of the parish and also of the holy well. We sometimes find a distinction between the patron of the church and the patron of the parish. Usually the same is taken for both church and parish; yet, as is most likely in the present case, it is quite possible that a later religious foundation may have been dedicated to a saint other than the already recognised patron of the parish. This would be in deference to the wishes of the founder, or temporal guardian, of the church, especially when the foundation of the church would be of a later period than the patron of the parish already accepted. Of course when the patron of the parish was the actual founder of the church he would be fairly sure to be taken as patron of both. We may then conclude that while St. Kilian is the traditionally accepted patron of the parish and holy well, St. Ceallach is the patron of the ancient church. The name *Ceallaigh* (genitive form of Ceallach) is pronounced almost like "Kelly," so that it is sometimes locally assumed that the name is modern. Further, some old people maintain that during the Penal times a Franciscan Friar named Kelly used to celebrate Mass in a hut alongside Mullagh Lake. He is said to have belonged to Raffony. This local tradition is quite groundless and appears to have been invented to explain the name. The name *Teampull Ceallaigh* is much older than the Penal times and can be traced back to at least the fifteenth century. The correct translation of the name would be "Ceallach's Church" (Ceallach is pronounced Kellach.) Regarding St. Kilian, and the question as to which of the many saints bearing the name can claim to be patron of the parish, the only guide discoverable is tradition and the further elucidation of the problem must be left to the researches of the Hagiologists.

Many ancient tombs of the Clan families of Southern Breffni, e.g.—the MacCabes, O'Reillys, O'Farrellys, MacGowans (or Smiths) and others, are to be found in the graveyard of Teampull Ceallaigh. One tombstone bears the inscription:—

'PRAY FOR THE SOVL OF
PHm O'REILLY WHO DIED THE
FIRST OF FEBERVARY
1683.

* "Lives of the Irish Saints," Vol. VII. p. 125.

Some modern family tombs are also to be seen. The Doughty tomb with Coat of Arms has the motto, "Palma non sine pulvere" ("The palm is not won without effort." After Horace, *Epistles*, i., I., 51.) An Ogham inscribed stone which stands in the churchyard is described elsewhere in this *Journal*.

In the list of grants to "Irish natives" in 1610 (*Hill's Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343), we find that Philip M'Brien M'Hugh O'Reily was given the following townlands:

NATIVE OWNERS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Syarne, the gallons of Drumrat and Creaghclagh; Crosbane, Lysnehederny, Anaghcharnet and Drumbawry, one poll each, in all 300 acres. Rent, £3 4s 0d.

The Books of Survey and Distribution already quoted give us the owners in 1641.

The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 for the County of Cavan (*Revenue Exchequer, General Collection*, P.R.O., Dublin) contains a list of the householders in the several parishes grouped in the order of their respective townlands. It was enacted in the reign of Charles II. of England that householders should pay a tax of two shillings per annum for every hearth in their homes. An entry of householders liable for tax was taken entitled:—

> A Roll of their names who are charged with the payment of two shillings per annum to the King's Majestie for every fire hearth and other place used by them for fireinge and stove in every of their said houses and edifices in the said County of Cavan from the nyne and twentieth day of September, one thousand six hundred sixtie and three to be paid at the feast of the Annuntiation of the Blessed Virgin St. Mary, and at the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel, by even and equall portions the first payment thereof to be paid upon the feast day of the Annuntiation of the Blessed Virgin St. Mary in this present year one thousand six hundred sixtie and four according to the Act of Parliament intituled an Act for establishinge an Addiconall revenue upon his Majestie, his heirs and successors in satisfaction for the profits of the Court of Wards in this Kingdome of Ireland vidlt.

All the houses in the Parish of Killinkere are returned as possessing one hearth each. The district of Mullagh is included in the Parish of Killinkeare. The spelling of the family names is sometimes curious, but nevertheless interesting; no doubt the names are written as pronounced at the time. The following is the list of householders in 1664, all of whom possessed one hearth:—

KIELINKEARE PARISH.

Letrum—Edward Plunkett, Conor Coarte, John M'Alea, and Christopher Plunkett.

Aghanemaddac—Gilbert Shippeard, Nicholas Keary, Phillip Ffarrelly, and Shane Relly.

Mullaghclslyn—Phillip Relly, Charles Relly, Owen Relly, John Duffie, Hugh Relly, and Patricke Clery.

Killeter—James Coninge, James Ffluddy, Charles Carulan, John Coninge, Cale M'Mahon, Conor M'Elduffe.

Cloghballyotragh John Ffarrelly, Hugh Ffarrelly, Patricke Clery, Conor Ffarrelly, and Laghlyn Linecy.

Clogibally Iteragh—Miler Relly, Daniell Linecy.

Cloghballebeg—Patricke Coninge, Neale Ffox.

Corneglare—Hugh Brady, Phillip Coninge, Edmond Kearnan, and Phillip Shalwee.

Crosbane—Patricke Tunnell, Brian M'Entire, Brian Tunell, John Cawly, Manus Tunell, Brian Gowan, John Gowen and Phillip Conin.

Greagh Glagh—Tirlagh Gowan, Nicholas Brady, Patricke Brady, John Brady, Thomas Brady, and Shane Brady.

Lenenawragh—Phillip Relly, Thomas Coninge, Nicholas Coninge.

Lynternagh—Laghlyn Brady, Tirlagh Donelly, Shane Magee and Ffarrall Fferielly.

Cornegarrow—Edmond O Lenman, Edmond Cayne and Roger Conally.

Carneleney—Hugh Clery, Couconaght Clery, Cormucke Sulaghan, Conor Clery, Patrick O Hoy, and Phlip Clery.

Aghanecleline—Hugh Clery, Hugh Linev, William Linev, Brian Clery, Cale Clery and Phillip Clery.

Envergarooge—Ffarrall Relly, Tirlagh Relly and Miles Relly.

Carcorman—Henry Cayne, Cormucke Cayne, Patricke Birre, Cale Digonan, and Hugh Roona.

Carickenenagh and Beagh—Morris Closkie and Brian Relly.

Cornegleagh—Ffarrell Ffox, and William Ffox.

Cloghergoole—Hugh Relly and Conor Fferilly.

Culkeagh—Mathew Gowan, Conor Relly, Hugh Donahy, and James Gowan.

Ravanagh—Phillip Gowan.

Downe—Edmond Gowen and Cahell Relly.

Anagharnett—Daniel Drum, Patricke Gowan, John Gowan, Caire Cabe and Edmond Gowen.

Burnue—Owen Daly, Charles Relly, John Caffry, and Shane Brian.

Killinkeare—Patricke Gowen, Nicholas O Hery, John Gowen, and Patricke Gowen.

Cargaghessel—Thomas O Gowen, Patricke Plunkett, Patricke Gowen, James Cabe, Hugh Gowen, and Ffarrall Managhan.
Liscapple—Owen Gowen, and Thomas Linecy.
Rantavan—James Relly, John Cartrune, Mathew Gowen, Patricke Gowen, Ffarrall Clery, Thomas Gowen and Patricke O Gowen.
Dromallett—John Relly, Phillip Relly, and Edmond M'Neboy.
Greaghdossan—John Gowen.

Total—123 houses—£xii ; vi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

And accordinge to the Act of Parliament wee doo send the said Rolls to be delivered into his Mats. Court of Exchequer dated at Cavan the 28th day of May, 1664.

Tho. Whyte [Seal.]
William Moore [Seal.]
Hum. Perrott [Seal.]

This list indicates the location of the principal families in the district of Mullagh in 1664. The surnames have slightly changed in many cases since then. There are several ways in which the change has been effected, viz—Accommodation of the Irish pronounciation to the English, e.g., Baighilligh through Relly or Rely to Reilly; Translation like Gowen into Smith. There are other processes, e.g., Substitution, the law of which is not easy to determine. In the above lists we find, for example, Conin or Coninge which is now O'Connell or Connell. This may be a case of Substitution or, perhaps, an interchanging of the liquid consonants l and n which sometimes occurs. This peculiarity is not confined to the Barony of Castlerahan. In the *Annals* under 1422, containing an enumeration of the tithe rights of Kilmore Parish, one of our members, Mr R. V. Walker, B.A., finds "the poll called MacConyn's poll." In the above list we find Linecy, which is the Gaelic (spoken) form of Lynch. Clery is the Gaelic (spoken) form of Clarke. The Christian names are also worth observing, e.g., Cale is the spoken form of Cathail. This has become Charles by anglicisation and substitution. The Hearth Roll list can hardly be an exhaustive one, and it may be assumed that many people preferred to live without a permanent hearth to escape the tax. The non-payment of the tax may have been also achieved by many at the time by resistance or evasion or both. The lists for the other parishes in the Barony of Castlerahan will be dealt with later.

SOME MULLAGH AUTHORS.

Henry Brooke, the well-known dramatist and novelist, was a native of this district. He was born at Rantavan House about

the year 1703, and was son of Rev. William Brooke, then Rector of Killinkere. His early education was received at the hands of Dr. Thomas Sheridan, who resided at Quilca House, and he entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1720. He afterwards studied Law in London where he wrote a number of poems and tragedies, and became the chosen friend of Pope and Lyttleton. He returned to Ireland and was one of the founders of the *Freeman's Journal* in 1763. His best know novel, *The Fool of Quality*, published in 1765, was greatly admired by John Wesley and was republished in 1859 by Rev. C. Kingsley. He wrote a tragedy *Gustavus Vasa*, the representation of which was prohibited by the Government of the time. He also published several poems and comedies and an opera of great power, *Jack the Giant Queller*, which displays in its arguments as well as in its poetry Brooke's remarkable genius. His political pamphlets were very numerous and are in the style of Swift's *Drapier Letters*. Brooke was a close friend of Swift who was living at Quilca during the same period. The latter in his voluminous correspondence from Quilca makes frequent references to his visits to the home of the Brookes at Rantavan. Local tradition has it that Brooke's mother was matchless at repartee. A meeting between her and Swift was an encounter of wits, and the Dean for all his ability always came off second best. This, for him, was the great attraction at Rantavan. Brooke died in Dublin on October 10th, 1783. His daughter, Charlotte Brooke, herself an accomplished writer, published his biography in 1792.

Among the poets and harpists of the eighteenth century the name of Charles MacCabe takes an honoured place. He was born at Mullagh during the last quarter of the seventeenth century and was a close personal friend of the distinguished harper, Turlogh O'Carolan "the last of the bards." Some of the compositions of MacCabe, including his lament* over O'Carolan's grave, reflect real genius. Hardiman writes:—"Having obtained a license to teach as a 'Popish Schoolmaster,' he earned a scanty subsistence in his old age, and, finally died in want." The year of his death is given as 1739. He is locally remembered as the "poet MacCabe."

Feardorcha O'Farrelly, of Mullagh, was a contemporary of MacCabe and was the author of several poems and songs. He died about 1736.

John, son of Philip O'Farrelly, of Mullagh, is stated to have been the author of a valuable work, *Seanchas an da Bhreifne*, or *History of the two Breffneys*, which his wife in a fit of jea-

* Hardiman, "Irish Minstrelsy," p. 94 and 96; also lxii, and 132, O'Reilly, "Irish Writers," p. CC xxvi.

lousy committed to the flames. O'Reilly* says that part of it was saved and is still extant. His death took place about 1721.

———o———

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF MULLAGH.

There is very little known with certainty regarding the ecclesiastical history of the Parish of Mullagh prior to the Reformation except what we have gleaned regarding the fortunes and vicissitudes of the Church of Teampull Ceallaigh. This served as the Parish Church from, at least, the rise of the O Reilly Clan in the 10th until the confiscations at the end of the 16th century. After the confiscation of Teampull Ceallaigh, which took place after the Inquisition of 1590 (loc. cit.) and during the Penal times which followed no church existed. According to local tradition a small chapel was erected later on—probably during the period of temporary toleration in the latter half of the 17th century—in the townland of Rantavan, opposite the ruins of Rantavan House, the home of the Brookes. According to the same authority the chapel was burned down one Sunday morning during the Penal times and the people slain or burned. A holy water stoup which was used in this chapel, is still preserved in a neighbouring farm house. A graveyard existed about this chapel, but this has disappeared within living memory; it was rooted up and the clay spread over the adjoining meadows. Quite recently human bones were unearthed in the field about the track of this chapel and people still living remember seeing human bones stacked around a large tree close by when the revolting work of disinterring them was in progress. Even the rude tombstones were carried away to serve other purposes; some of them are still preserved in the neighbourhood. The site of this churchyard can still be recognised by the rich verdure of the green sward.

At the relaxation of the Penal Laws, towards the end of the 18th century, a small thatched chapel was built in the townland of Cornakill. This served as a Parish Church until the erection of the present Parish Church of St. Kilian's—an example of the beautiful mediaeval style of Gothic architecture. Its foundation stone was laid on June 25th, 1857. The Very Rev. Matthew MacQuaid, P.P., V.F., delegated by Dr. Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, officiated on the occasion.

In Casey's poem, already referred to, the poet back from "the mystic German land" where the pilgrim reads Kilian's history "in Cathedrals tall and grand," and "home again in Noble Breffni," supposes himself standing on "Mullagh mountain," and on seeing this church and hearing the "calm and silvery

* "Irish Writers, p. CC. xix.

strain" of "the bell's celestial tongue," he, in surprise and delight, inquires:—"Is that Wurtzburg's shining tower? Do I stand on Celtic soil?"

He is assured:—

"Yonder Church was built, good minstrel, by the lowly sons of toil;
Twas the Mullagh's peasant's sinew raised on high that beauteous pile,
That the bright eyes of St. Kilian on his home might ever smile."

The poet, in praying his blessing on them, answers:—

"God be thanked, the brave old race,
In the pathway of their fathers hold the same unchanging place:
Here St. Kilian's memory dwelleth by Borora's brown eyed rill,
As if foreign banner never floated on an Irish hill."

We have already noted a tradition that after the burning of the Chapel at Rantavan and prior to the erection of the chapel at Cornakill a Friar named Kelly, said to have belonged to Raffony used to say Mass in a small house beside Mullagh Lake. However, I am inclined to believe that the story is an invention to explain the anglicised name "Kelly's" Church., Raffony existed as an independent foundation until it shared the general fate of the Hospitals after the Inquisition of 1590. The foundations of the old Raffony Church can still be traced in the churchyard. It was the burial-place of many of the Clan families of Southern Breffni.

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SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

In 1704 the "Popish Priest" of Mullagh was Rev. Murtagh Gargan, who was then aged 68. He was ordained in 1661 at Ballycunner, King's County, by Most Rev. Anthony Geoghegan, "Popish Bishop" of Meath, and lived at Syharne (between Cross Church and Killinkere.) His sureties (for £50 each) were William Tate of Aghagalgher and Connor Reilly, of Dromkilly. He was registered pursuant to the Act of 1703 (2nd Anne, c. 7.) at the "General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Cavan" at Cavan, before Charles Mortimer, Clerk of the Peace, on the 10th July, 1704.* He died in, or before, 1711, as appears from the

* "A List of the Names of the Popish Parish Priests throughout the several Counties in the Kingdom of Ireland," etc., Dublin—Printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

document describing the Administration* of his goods dated 1711. He is entered as "Murtagh Gargan, late of Sighard, Parish of Mullagh, Co. Cavan (Catholic) Priest."

Another Act was passed in 1709, six years later (8 Anne, c. 3), which required the registered priests to take the Oath of Abjuration before 25th March, 1710, or else be outlawed. The Cavan priests declined to take this oath, and for a long time had to remain in hiding, so that details are scanty regarding the Parish Priests of the early eighteenth century. Mullagh and Killinkere were separate parishes in 1701. Rev. Hugh Clery was registered for Killinkere in this year.

In the years 1743-5 the officials responsible for the enforcement of the Penal Laws were required to furnish reports to Dublin regarding any priests suspected of still living in their districts. The majority of the Cavan priests appear to have effectively evaded detection. In his report† to the Executive, dated 21st March, 1743-4, Samuel Moore, High Sheriff of Cavan, gives a short list of the priests about whom he had obtained information. The list does not mention any priest known to be then living in the Parish of Mullagh. However, he notes:—"John McKernan, a frier [Friar] lives mostly in the parish of Castlerahan, has no certain place of abode."

Rev. Edmond Gargan was P.P. of Mullagh in 1759 as may be inferred from an entry in the old Register of Virginia Parish. In the Most Rev. Laurence Richardson's relation of the state of the diocese in 1750 preserved in the Vatican Archives he is also mentioned as Pastor‡. Dr Richardson was Bishop of Kilmore, 1747-1753. Rev. Bartle MacCabe, was P.P. of the united parishes of Mullagh and Killinkere from 1766 until his death in 1794. A Chalice belonging to him is preserved in Mullagh Parish Church; it bears the inscription: "Procuravit Bartholomeus MacCabe Pastor de Mullah A.D. 1768." On his death the parishes were again divided and his nephew, Rev. Felix MacCabe, became P.P. of Mullagh in 1794. He was educated abroad and, while in Paris, was a witness to the terrors of the French Revolution which impressed him so deeply that he had special prayers recited every Sunday against war, famine, and pestilence. He is reputed to have been a man of very courtly address, both an able theologian and a well-read classical scholar. He died on the 10th December, 1816, and was buried with his

* Diocese of Kilmore "Will and Grant Book" (1693-1727) ii. 6. 44. p. 80. Public Record Office, Dublin.

† Vide Rev. W. P. Burke "Irish Priests in the Penal Times," 1660-1760, p. 291.

‡ Archivium Hibernicum, Vol. V. p. 134.

ancestors in the churchyard of Teampull Ceallaigh.

Rev. Luke O'Reilly succeeded and was P.P. from 1816 until his death on the 21st September, 1852. He lived at Quilca. He was followed by Rev. Thomas O'Reilly who died the 11th April, 1857. Rev. John Conaty was P.P. from 1857 until his death on the 11th February 1872. It was he that erected the present Parish Church of Mullagh dedicated to St. Kilian. The next P.P. was Rev. John O'Reilly who, on being transferred to Killeshandra, was succeeded by the present worthy Pastor, Rev. Luke Carroll on the 10th May, 1889.

I wish to express my indebtedness to our Chairman, Father Meehan, for his kind assistance and many valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper. I have also to thank Father Carroll for facilitating its compilation by placing the Parochial Registers at my disposal.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

CAVAN OGHAM STONES.

I—The Mullagh Ogham.

By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

In 1875 Dr Norman Moore of London made the very interesting discovery of an Ogham inscribed stone in the old Churchyard of Teampull Ceallaigh. The find was reported by him to Sir Samuel Ferguson who drew the attention of the Royal Irish Academy to it. The importance of the discovery will be realised when it is remembered that this was the first Ogham North of Co. Wicklow that was come upon. Apparently, the stone was carried from the vicinity and used as a gravestone. The discovery was first described by Ferguson in 1875 in a paper published in the *Proceedings of the R.I.A.** and afterwards in his *Ogham Inscriptions* (p. 65.):—

> Where the hilly country of Monaghan and Cavan subsides into the rich plain bordering Meath [he writes] we meet with a regular Ogham at Mullagh, near Virginia. It stands in the churchyard beside the parish church and is legible up to one arris:—Osbarr, or possibly Osbarrn, a name looking to historic times, and although unaccompanied by any Christian symbol very unlikely to be Pagan.

The stone is described by R. R. Brash† :—As marking a modern grave in the old burial ground of Temple Kelly, and together with other inscribed stones was brought from the adjoining lands of Rantavan. It is a small stone standing little more than three feet from the surface, about 15 inches in breadth by 4 inches at its greatest thickness. Dr Ferguson believes it to be the first instance of a genuine Ogham inscription found north of the County of Wicklow.

* Series II., Vol. I., p. 303.

† Ogham-inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil, p. 325.

The stone afterwards disappeared, apparently hidden or partially buried beneath the accumulated soil. Sir Samuel Ferguson had taken a *papier-maché* facsimile of it in 1875, which facsimile is now in the possession of Professor R. A. S. Macalister of the National University. The impression is much worn, and Prof. Macalister gives, tentatively, a reading in his *Irish Epigraphy*.* However, the squeeze does not show the characters very distinctly, and apparent extra scores are merely creases in the paper. A fruitless search for the missing Ogham was made by the late Professor Sir John Rhys of Oxford University in 1898† on the occasion of his visit to examine the Kieran Ogham‡ He gave up the search in despair after hunting in vain through the weeds and nettles in the much neglected old graveyard. But a later search by Prof. Macalister again revealed the stone. He found on close examination that his interpretation of Ferguson's paper impression was faulty, owing to the imperfections of the copy, and he corrected it in a communication published in the *Proceedings of the R.I.A.*§ His former interpretation read *Osbbarigomma*: he now finds that the correct reading is

OSBBAR.

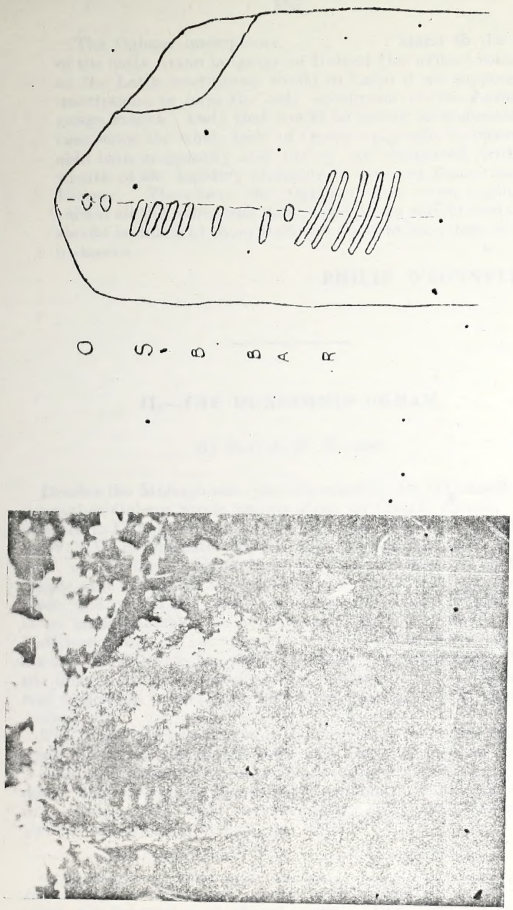
This corresponds with the reading given by Ferguson. Prof. Macalister was satisfied that the faint second R added by Ferguson was nothing but some casual scratches low down on the stone. The inscription (which, of course, in the Oghmic script consists of scores on the edge of the stone) is neatly cut and is in perfect order reading downwards. The accompanying photograph of the stone with sketch is due to Prof. Macalister, the greatest living authority on Celtic Epigraphy, to whom I am indebted for the loan of the photograph with permission to reproduce it, and also for his expert advice and help in the elucidation of the many problems which arise in the copying and interpretation of Ogham symbols.

* Vol II., p. 129. *First Edition.*

† Tour R.S.A.I., 1898, p. 53.

‡ For a description of this see p. 17 of this *Journal*.

§ Notes on Certain Irish Inscriptions Vol. xxxiii. Section C. No. 5.



THE MULLAGH OGHAM STONE. PHOTO. AND SKETCH BY PROF. MACALISTER.

The stone had again disappeared after its examination by Prof. Macalister, but was recently recovered by the present writer; it had been lowered and partially covered in the digging of a grave, and lay hidden in a thick growth of nettles. The monument is of limestone about 2 feet above the ground and in cross-dimensions measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$. It will be found south-west of the ruins of the old Church and marks a modern grave.

According to Brash, other inscribed stones were known to exist in Teampull Ceallaigh, but, so far, no traces have been discovered.

No satisfactory explanation of the name **OSBBAR** can be offered. Prof. Macalister is inclined to believe that the inscription is not really ancient, but that it is an unsuccessful attempt to write some such name as *Osborne* in Ogham letters. But there is no doubt about its genuineness as an Ogham inscription. The discovery of this stone is of primary importance on account of the extension of the Ogham area to a part of Ireland where no such monuments were hitherto known to exist.

Few people are aware of the great historical value of these pre-Christian inscriptions, and their comparative rarity shows how few have escaped the exposure of fifteen hundred years. Owing to the difficulty of detection, due to wear, the minute scores are very liable to escape notice. Coming down, as they do, from Pagan times, these inscriptions constitute a link with the period before Roman characters were introduced in the fifth century. It is a remarkable fact, and one which deserves careful investigation, that the Oghams of Mullagh and Kieran should be found in connection with Christian churches. It appears from the researches of Prof. Macalister* and Prof. Eoin MacNeill† that these Pagan symbols were Christianised so as to bring them into conformity with Christian teachings. It is to be hoped that the Members of this Society will make an effort to collect and preserve such Oghams as may exist in Breffni. So far, only two examples have been found in Cavan; the stone at Mullagh and another at Dungimmin, near Kilnaleck (described by Father Meehan.) The opinion of an eminent Celtic scholar, the late Prof. Sir John Rhys, is deserving of notice‡:—

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* "Celtic Ireland," *Irish Monthly*, 1919, passim.

† "Notes on the Distribution, history, grammar, and import of the Irish Ogham Inscriptions" *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* 1909, vol. xxvii., Section C., No. 15.

‡ Jour. R.S.A.I., 1899, p. 403.

The Ogham inscriptions. . . . . stand to the study of the early Aryan language of Ireland [he writes] somewhat as the Latin inscriptions would to Latin if we supposed the inscriptions to form the only specimens of the Latin language extant. Only that would be vastly to understate the case since the whole body of Ogmic epigraphy is inconsiderable both in quantity and variety as compared with the wealth of the lapidary literature of ancient Rome and her Empire. Therefore, the Oghams that exist ought to be valued all the more; and more care—more enlightened care—should be taken of them than has hitherto been done in many instances.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

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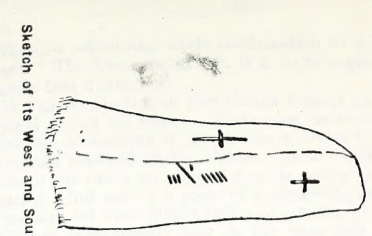
II.—THE DUNGIMMIN OGHAM.

By Rev. J. B. Meehan.

Besides the Mullagh one, just described by Mr O'Connell, there is another Ogham Stone known about in County Cavan. It is situated in Dungimmin almost 10 miles due West of Mullagh, and 2½ W.N.W. of Oldcastle. It is a little over half the latter distance S.W. of the village of Mountnugent—or Daly's Bridge,* as the old people still call it—in the same diocese of Meath, parish, Kilbride, and within 200 yards of the County Meath boundary. It is on lands belonging to Mr Nicholas Sheridan, Omard House, Ballynarry, one of our members. So it comes about that this ancient Pillar Stone has three claimants: ecclesiastically it is in the diocese of Meath, civilly in the county of Cavan, while its real ownership belongs to a gentleman residing in the diocese of Ardagh.

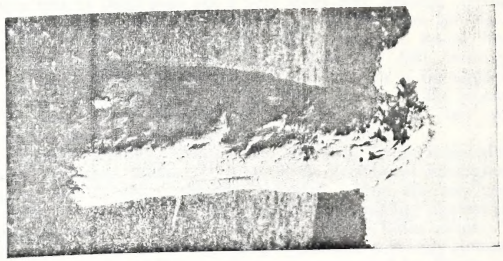
The easiest way to find it is, leave Oldcastle by the Ballyduff road, and when outside the town take the first turn on the left. A mile or so further on make inquiries for this farm. Stop a dozen yards beyond its unoccupied farmhouse. The stone is then in the field on your right, just behind the hedge, and so near that you can almost touch it from the road.

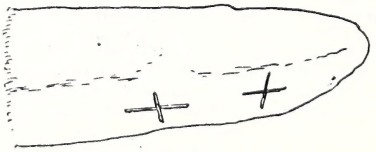
* The bridge was built about 200 years ago. It was badly needed, and was put up at his own expense by Rev. Hugh Daly, the parish priest, who belonged to an affluent family. Father Daly was for many years the P.P. of Kilbride, but the exact date of his pastorate has not been ascertained.—Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, II., 314, note.



Sketch of its West and South sides.

THE DUNGIMMIN OGHAM STONE.





Sketch of its North and East sides.

It is 5ft. 3ins. in height and 1ft. 8ins. by 1ft. 4ins. in its other dimensions. It bears four small incised crosses, two on the South side and one each on the North and East. The illustration gives a good idea of its appearance. It is from a photograph taken many years ago by Professor Macalister, which, with the accompanying sketches, he has courteously placed at the disposal of the Society through Mr O'Connell. The Ogham letters are quite distinct. Transliterated into ordinary characters by the same learned antiquary they read.

OVOMANI.

But what that means he has not yet made out.

What may be looked for on Pillar Stones like this, is the name of some hero or chieftain. When the old tales and documents record the death and burial of a noted personage they not infrequently make the statement that a stone was placed over his grave on which his name was inscribed in Ogham; his genealogy was recited, his dirge chanted, and his name written in Ogham-chraobh, is not an unusual formula. Since the discovery of the key of the Ogham system in the Book of Ballymote and the fortunate finding of duplicate inscriptions, in Latin and Ogham, on some Pillar Stones, which further elucidates it, the writing can be read with comparative ease. An explanation of the alphabet is now to be met with in ordinary Irish histories. It is unnecessary to repeat it. The chiseling of the inscriptions was a specialised handicraft.

An Ogham inscription merits attention on many grounds.

To start with, it is a specimen of the earliest form of writing used in Ireland, a Keltic form at that, and most probably indigenous, that is, not borrowed from any other country. Hundreds of Ogham monuments, such as the one at Dungimmin, survive in Ireland especially in Cork and Kerry. About fifty others, it is true, have been found outside Ireland, in Scotland, Wales and England; but probably they were all inscribed by Irishmen or under Irish influence.* "Ogam writing," testifies Hyde, "is peculiar to the Irish Gael and only found where he had settled."† "The range of the Ogham inscriptions outside of Ireland," states MacNeill, "corresponds to the range of Irish settlements and of Irish influence, at the time of the collapse of the Western Empire."‡

* Joyce, *Soc. Hist.*, I., p. 398.

† *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 109.

‡ MacNeill. *Phases of Irish History*, p. 173. For their exact Geographical distribution see paper by him No. 15. Sec. C. Vol. XXVII. in Proceedings of R.I.A., p. 329 (July, 1909.)

Then, it sometimes lends confirmation to a local tradition or record. The Dungimmin one, it is to be regretted, does not yet possess that distinction.

An Ogham inscription also claims respect as the most ancient original record we have. There was, as everybody knows, an enormous destruction of MS. books in Ireland; a destruction by no means confined to the Danes. As a result, there has come down to our times no original records earlier than the 7th or 8th century. But here is a piece of writing—the registry of a death, or perhaps (at least inferentially) of a battle or of a plague—that may have been already long on the same spot when St. Patrick preached at Tara. For the Ogham alphabet was devised "about the beginning of the Christian era or somewhat later."* And the custom of placing Ogham inscriptions on stone monuments commemorative of the dead grew up among the Pagan Irish within the succeeding three or four centuries.

But this by itself goes but a very short way towards settling its date. For on the other hand Ogham stones were put up as late as A.D. 600† and one of our best authorities would hesitate about dating any of them earlier than the fifth century‡ So again the determination of the precise or even of the approximate age of, for instance, the one before us, has all the interest of the solution of a most difficult scientific problem, and will brace the greatest experts to their utmost effort.

"Ogham epigraphy," testifies Dr. MacNeill, "while it lasted remained in Pagan hands."§ None of its deciphered inscriptions connote any Christian religious sentiment. From the very first, too, there is evidence of a positive Christian hostility against the native learning. It was not solely that with its Latin culture "it had no use for the cumbrous Ogham alphabet, or merely shunned a cult which was of Pagan origin, was preserved by Pagan experts, and was probably accompanied by Pagan observances."

Since, then, the cult of the Ogham inscription is so intimately connected with Paganism, may we exclude as improbable for the erection of our Pillar Stone the period after the spread of St. Patrick's teaching. But, then, what about the crosses four of them? To this one can make answer that they may be either (a) nothing more than attempts at ornaments of the simplest kind; or (b) possibly rude symbols of sun worship (v.p. 199 this Journal), or reminiscences of such; or (c) the Christian symbol, indeed, but incised centuries after the Pillar was raised; and then cut into it not improbably with some idea of "depolarizing" it or exorcising the Paganism out of it. St. Patrick rarely destroyed an idol or

* *Phases of Irish History* by MacNeill, p. 172.

† Do., p. 173 and *Literary History of Ireland* by Hyde, p. 110.

‡ MacNeill, R.I.A., paper cited, p. 332.

§ R.I.A., Paper cited, p. 332.

removed a Pillar Stone. "Sometimes," testifies Dr Todd, "he contented himself with inscribing upon such stones the sacred names or symbols of Christianity." (St. Patrick, p. 500.)

From all our *data* no closer inference can be safely drawn than that the Dungimmin Stone is standing there for over 1,300 years This, indeed, of itself is remarkable. But any more definite determination of its age is as elusive as the trisection of the triangle. Geology has very little to go upon in the "weathering" of the Stone and supplies but the feeblest assistance.

An expert, however, would not yet throw up the sponge. He would have his knowledge of the words and forms of old Irish, the oldest MS. Irish, to fall back upon. That is the great means of solving such questions; but, as is obvious, it is within the reach of but a very few. Historical research, too, might give some help. For should the ascertained name on an Ogham be also come upon in other records, the latter may reveal the date more or less exactly. If it cannot be found, then that chance is gone; but at once there arises as a compensation the surmise that the particular inscription may be very, very old, and go back to the twilight, or to what somebody has dessribed as "the dark hinterlands" of history.

Lastly, even though we can make but little of either the inscription or the date, a genuine example of Ogham writing is on its own account most interesting; and for the genuineness of the Dungimmin sample we have the authority of an antiquary of European fame, Prof. Macalister. Though MacNeill, in his passion for truth at all costs, establishes that the Latin origin of this ancient Irish alphabet is hardly open to question,* still the order of the letters is entirely different from that of the Latin or any other alphabet.† Dr. MacNeill also shows that the vowels were segregated and apparently subclassified, and that the orthography of the Ogham inscriptions represents a definite and consistent system.‡ Every one, besides, knows the main device for writing or rather chiseling the characters on stone, and can recognise individual symbols on a stone as a child does his letters in his Primer the first day at school. But the whole Ogham alphabet is framed with much ingenuity Dr Hyde shows.

> "For," he states, "in every case it is found that those letters which, like the vowels, are most easily pronounced are also in Ogam the easiest to inscribe, and the simpler sounds are represented by simpler characters than those that are more complex."§

* *Phases of Irish History*, p. 172. So, too, his R.I.A. Paper, p 334 and Hyde, Op. cit. 112.

† Joyce, Op. cit., Vol. I., p. 398.

‡ The R.I.A. Article mentioned, p. 334.

§ *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 108.

He also adduces a German scholar of note as vouching for the Ogham alphabet both that "no simpler method of writing is imaginable," and that "with one or two changes it would make the simplest conceivable universal alphabet or international code of writing."*

Surely our countrymen of 2,000 years ago, its originators, can hardly be thought of as an unpractical, unobservant, or totally uncultured people.

The discussion of the Mullagh and Dungimmin Ogham Stones may help to awaken a deeper interest in such relics of the long past. It may also both prompt to the scrupulous preservation of those already discovered and lead to the finding of a few more in Breifny. As recently as 1908 Mr (now Dr.) John MacNeill came upon one in the churchyard of Cloonmorris near Dromod, in Leitrim.† Up to that there was no known example in that county. That in both Leitrim and Cavan there were once many can hardly now be doubted.‡ That, despite time and neglect and accidents, a few more of them survive is both at least probable, and is also sincerely to be hoped.

Ogham was no cryptic script intelligible to and intended for but a few.§ A blank would, at first blush, go some way towards justifying a presumption of pre-Patrician Breifnian illiteracy. But the presumption could scarcely be sustained on that ground. For though in that period a knowledge of the writing may have been widespread, still the custom of Ogham epitaphs or inscriptions may have been local. Most probably it originated and became general in the districts in which Ogham Pillar Stones are numerous, "but had not time to become general elsewhere before the causes came into operation which brought about its abandonment."‖

"It can hardly be doubted," Dr MacNeill adds, "but the arresting causes were the spread of Christianity and the concomitant spread of Latin learning and Latin alphabet. The Ogham inscriptions were not replaced, at all events in Ireland, by literal inscriptions. . . . . The ancient cult was abandoned, not altered."**

J. B. MEEHAN.

* *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 108-9.

† Journal, R.S.A.I., 1909, pp. 132-137.

‡ Last year an Ogham in the parish of Ballymachugh was reported by Mr MC. M'Kenna. The stone is between Moderiskin Co-Op. Lime Works and L. Sheelin. It lies just outside the ring of Tonay Fort and beside an uncapped dolmen and stone circle. The lines on it *may* be artificial, but there can be no hesitation in saying they are not Ogham symbols.

Two other smaller cromlechs may be seen in the fields to the left of Omard Gate-house in the same parish.

§ Hyde, Op. cit., p. 109.

‖ MacNeill, R.I.A. paper cited, p. 331.

** Do.

EXHIBITS AT THE THIRD MEETING, 17th MARCH.

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There were a few Stone Celts, which had been found locally, but the most interesting exhibit was a Cinerary or Sepulchral Urn. It belongs to Mr George Ferris, of the Cloggy Mills, beside Ballinagh. It was found six or seven years ago in the townland of Lackan, near Ballinagh. The field was being prepared for crops, and some heaps of stones were removed. Under one of them an urn was discovered, but unfortunately it got broken. Another little cairn was more cautiously taken asunder, and in its centre, under a thin flat stone, this vessel was resting. It was not noticed were there any bones in it or under it, nor is it remembered whether it stood upright or was mouth downwards. The latter is not an unusual position. The urn field, as it may be called, belongs to a Mr Bennett. It is between the M.G.W.R. line and the River Erne, at a point about 77¼ miles from Dublin, as indicated by the wooden railway pillars marking distances. It is a very fine field, 4 or 5 acres in extent, in a beautiful situation, the land much richer than that adjoining it. Were it well explored it is quite likely it would yield other objects. A rusted iron sword was indeed discovered beside it by a Mr Morrison. But it is not older than about 100 years, and is of but small interest. Very few, if any, Cinerary Urns found in Cavan or Leitrim are recorded. The journal of the R.A.S.I. for 1898 contains illustrations of pieces of one that was dug up in Enagh bog, near Virginia, some time before that. Only fragments were recovered. Still the fragments were photographed, and they are minutely described by the gentleman who came into possession of them, a Mr Rotheram, of Meath. This shows what importance antiquaries attach to such finds.

About 20 years ago another clay Urn was unearthed within a yard of the Middletown dolmen, near Drumhowna Railway Station, by a Mr Maguire, who still lives there. Mr Maguire set no value on it, and it got broken. A few years afterwards the late Dr. Moran, Inspector of N. Schools, recovered and carried away the fragments. Middletown dolmen, by the way, is marked on the O.S. Map (Granard Sheet 79, 1902) as a Druid's Altar, but Loughduff dolmen, within a quarter of a mile of Middletown, is not indicated. According to Mr Thos. O'Reilly, one of our members, who resides at Loughduff, there was a third dolmen in the district. It was quite beside the one last mentioned, but has totally disappeared. Not unlikely it was built into the church wall.

The Lackan Urn, shown at the meeting, is small, but it is a perfect specimen. Its height is 4⅞ins, and the diameter of the top 5 inches. The rim, which does not overhang, is a half-inch in thickness or breadth. On the inside it is quite smooth. The shape is graceful. It is very tastefully and elaborately decorated in archaic fashion; rows of chevrons, two rows of fairly even-sized diamonds, also scored with lines, and two raised circles. Even the lip has its chevrons or zigzags, and the base has impressed on it a diamond pattern.

Should Urns of this type again be come upon it is hoped the greatest care will be taken in preserving them.

THE MONASTERY AT SLANORE.

By Rev. Martin Comey, D.D., C.C.

[Read 17th October, 1921.]

Many of you have paid a visit on some occasion to Trinity Island to see the crumbling ruins of the old monastery that gave the Island its name, and to decipher the epitaphs on the moss-grown head-stones of those who have long since mouldered to the dust under the shadow of its sanctuary walls. You will, too, perhaps have stood on the plateau to west side of graveyard's encircling ditch, and allowed your gaze to wander over the waters of the lake towards the south. Here you will have seen a green hill or ridge rising rather abruptly from the waters' edge. Had you the good luck or misfortune to be standing there on a summer's evening some 1,300 years ago you would have seen white-robed Monks toiling and moiling on its barren slopes, or heard the monastery bells calling the Monks to pray, for on the north-western crest of this hill, called Slanore, overlooking the waters of the winding Erne, and almost in a direct line with its entry into the lake, stood a monastery of some repute in those far-off days.

The townland of Slanore, or, as it was known formerly, Snalore, contains about 100 acres and belongs to Mr Patrick O'Reilly, who takes an intelligent interest in its venerable history, and loves to talk of and live in spirit in those by-gone days when the monotonous silence of that once wild and lonely spot was broken only by peal of bell, the clang of the spade and shovel, or the hum of prayer stealing softly from the chapel windows when the busy Monks chanted matin psalm or vesper hymn.

It would not be true to say—as some have said—that not a trace now remains of the Abbey or its residents, for the remarkable fertility of the soil bears eloquent testimony to the agricultural industry and skill of the Monks, who, even in those distant days, rivalled in scientific knowledge the Monks of Mount Melleray in transforming a barren waste into meadows of waving grass, or fields yellow and golden with the grain of a ripening harvest. There is also on the farm another trace much more remarkable which has kept their memory living when their names had been forgotten—a field of circular shape which still bears the name of "Abbey Field." This serves to prove how accurately history may be preserved by tradition, and the dim and distant past placed in communion with the living present.

This field is about three roods in extent, and as it is of a shape akin to the forts commonly to be met with in this district, as elsewhere in the county, it might very naturally have past as one were it not for the fact that the Irish were always remarkable for the accuracy with which they handed down unwritten traditions from generation to generation. It was not a mere fort—the prefix "Abbey" settles that question quite satisfactorily. Any doubts that might remain on the subject were sufficiently answered when, at the beginning of the last century, the field was broken for cultivation and an ancient burial place laid bare, not without some surprise to the unexpecting workmen. Here and there, too, were dug up carved stones of no mean workmanship, evidently belonging to a church with some pretensions to architecture. Some of these have been carefully placed, through Mr O'Reilly, by the sheltered roots of a whitethorn lone bush which grows almost in the centre of this hallowed ground.

The townland of Slanore was situated in a district known in those distant days as Cairbregabhra—named from sept descended from Cairbre, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages* and according to O'Donovan represented now by the modern barony of Granard, which then extended further north to embrace the present Upper Loughtee, as will be seen later. The Irish form of the name of the place in which we are at present interested was Snamh-Luther or Luthoir, which, it seems, signifies the swimming place or ford of apparently a Chieftain of name Luthair, of whom more may be said on another occasion. Here, too, there was a "city" or town on the plain of the hill, or, perhaps, clinging in straggling forts to its western slope where it descends gradually to the junction of the Erne with the first of the lakes of Coghter. But of this town nothing now remains, as one might naturally, expect, built as the houses were, like most of the Irish houses of the time, of wattles and clay. The Monastery is said to have been founded by Columbanus, the son of Eochaid (pronounced "yokey") of which the modernised form is probably Keogh. His memory is honoured in the martyrologies on September 6th "at Donaghmore"† as well as at Snalore. Several historians think that this may be Donaghmore in County Tyrone. It is probably nearer the truth to suggest Tonymore, Cavan. He seems to have had a sister called St. Comaigh, who also consecrated her life to God, as her memory was venerated in the Church of Snalore on the 27th May.‡ It would appear that St. Columbkille, on one of his brief visits to Ireland from Iona, not improbably remained at this monastery for some days. An incident

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* Four Masters, Connellan's ed., note p. 154.

† Martyr of Tallaght and Donegal, quoted by O'Hanlon in *Life of St. Colman*, Sept. the 6th, vol. 9, and Moran's Archdall's *Monasticon* note page 70.

‡ O'Hanlon's *Life of St. Comaigh*, May 27th, vol. 5.

during his visit is described by Adamnan as follows:—

> "At another time while the saint was remaining for a few days in Ireland he undertook a journey which had for its object the advancement of religion. For this purpose he ascended a yoked chariot which he had previously blessed, but, from some unaccountable neglect on the part of his servant, the linch-pins were not inserted in the holes at the extremities of the axles. The Saint's charioteer on the occasion was Columban, a holy man, the son of Eochaidh and founder of a monastery called in the Irish tongue Snam Leuther (Snaw-Lure or Lore.) The drive over so long a road necessarily caused the chariot to be much shaken, yet the wheels did not come off the axles, nor even stir out of their proper places, although as has been mentioned before, the usual appliances had been neglected. But grace so favoured the holy man that his chariot proceeded safely during the entire day without meeting any obstacle to retard its progress."*

Everyone has heard the story of the penance of perpetual banishment from Ireland imposed upon Columbkille by St. Molaise of Devenish; a story that awakens a sympathetic chord in the heart of the reader as he pictures in imagination the white-robed form of the saintly missionary standing on the rocky shores of Iona looking through the mists for a glimpse of the land he loved but might never tread again. But however interesting the tradition may be, such eminent Irish historians as Lanigan, O'Hanlon, and Moran, hold that it is a legend invented by bards and romancers of a later date, and accept no other motive for his exile than that assigned by Adamnan—a desire to carry the Gospel to pagan nations and win souls to God. It seems perfectly clear from Adamnan's Life of the Saint that, in addition to his attendance at the Synod of Drumceat, he visited Ireland on other occasions. It would not be without interest if the date of St. Columbkille's sojourn at Slanore could be fixed with some degree of accuracy, and this does not seem difficult of accomplishment.

In the opening lines of the quotation cited above, you will have observed that when the Saint touched at Slanore he was on a visit to Ireland of only a few days' duration. So it did not occur when he came to attend the Synod of Drumceat, because we know he remained for some months in Ireland then. It cannot, however, have been much before 590, for Columbanus died in 640; and as he displayed on this occasion remarkable vigour and

* Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Reeves (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 73.

skill in driving safely a team of horses and a chariot, without linch-pins, over roads that were both rough and crude, he was certainly no mean stripling, and may be assumed to have reached the age of 25 or 30, for Adamnan calls him a holy man—not a boy. It is permissible, also, to conjecture from the visit that if Columkille was not the founder of the monastery, it was probably under his jurisdiction and special favour, and that Columbanus was likely a disciple. In the declining years of his old age—probably about 630—Columbanus was afflicted with blindness, from which, however, he was miraculously cured through the prayers of his friend and fellow-worker in the Vineyard of the Lord, St. Fechin, Abbot and founder of the famous Monastery of Fore, which was about 15 miles distant, as the crow flies, from Snalore. The miracle is described in the Life of St. Fechin as follows:—

> "On a certain day St. Fechin came to the place called Sram Luither, in the district of Cabre Gabhra, and meeting there St. Colman (Columbanus), the son of Eochaid, who had been for a long time blind, he applied to his eyes the water with which he had washed his hands, and the blessing of sight was immediately restored to the blind man."*

About ten years subsequently Columbanus passed away to his reward, and it may be accepted as historically certain that his dust now lies within the boundary of the Abbey field of Slanore with that of his sister, St. Comaigh. Examining their genealogy, as given in the Martyrology of Donegal and of Tallaght (edited by Dr Kelly), we find that their father's name was Eochaidh, and the mother's Aigleand. The names of four of their children—all Saints—are recorded as St. Fintan, St. Lughaid, St. Columb, and St. Comaigh. Eochaidh, the father, was descended from King Laeghaire, through Ailill, Guaire and Lughaigh; so that St. Columb and his sister, Comaigh, of Slanore, were fifth in descent from the monarch who received St. Patrick at Tara. Towards the end of the 7th century the same martyrologies record the names of St. Quintoc and St. Maelan, whom Colgan considers the same as Mollchud, the nephew of St. Columkille.

A second miracle, which rendered Slanore famous, was performed about the middle of the sixth century by St. Ruadhan, Abbot of Lorrha; it was he laid the curse on Tara which came into effect at the feast held there in 565 in the reign of King Diermot. The miracle is thus described in his Life:—

> "St. Ruadhan coming to the city Snamh-Luthir, in the district Cairbregabhra, the body of the lately deceased King of that district was being borne on a chariot towards the city,

* Quoted by O'Hanlon, Life of St. Colman, vol. 9, Sept. 6th.

and the whole people were weeping around him. Then Ruadhan, moved to compassion, prayed to the Lord, and the King rose up living, and offered that city and people to St. Ruadhan."*

As St. Ruadhan, according to Usher's Index Chron., died in 584, it is clear that this miracle occurred many years before that recorded of St. Feehin—probably about 500—and one cannot but very much regret that the ancient biographer failed to give us the name of the then King of Cabar Gabhra, for that would have helped considerably to illuminate much that is obscure; nor does he, unfortunately, tell us if St. Ruadhan accepted the gift which the King, in a moment of gushing gratitude, offered him. Two things, however, stand out clear—firstly, that the place already bore the name Snam-Luthir. Therefore its derivation must be sought at an earlier date. Secondly the place was called a "city." By what stretch of imagination could this little straggling village be called a city? Dr Bury, in his Life of St. Patrick, gives an answer which will strike most people as historically sound and convincing.

> "Was there," asks Dr Bury, "any discriminating designation to distinguish those religious settlements which were the seats of Bishops, from those that were not? I venture on the conjecture that the name civitas (city) was originally applied only to the former communities, ... and we can understand that in a cityless land, such as Ireland then was, city might have been used in the special ecclesiastical sense of the settlement in which the Bishop lived."†

If this conjecture be correct—and there does not seem to be any other plausible explanation—it accounts for the village of Snamh-Luther being called a city, and, incidentally, it shows that the parish of Kilmore already contained a Bishop's See in the middle of the 6th century. This argument acquires greater force when we remember that the Irish word for city means a chair—that is where the Bishop's Chair or Cathedral was. It would lead one also to venture on the assertion that the Cathedral—such as it was—was in, or quite near, Slanore. History and tradition unite to prove that the original seat of the diocese was in the parish of Kilmore; they also unite in proving that it was some distance from the parish church of St. Felimy, which Andrew Mac Brady erected into a Cathedral in 1454, "because he was dissatisfied with finding the Episcopal See established in so inconvenient a place, and found the parish church of St. Felimy to be a more commodious place."* Where did Andrew MacBrady remove the Seat from? The answer, which presents little, if any, historical and traditional difficulty, is, "from an inconvenient and backward place somewhere in Kilmore." If somebody answers, from Urney—the only alternative ever suggested—he will have insuperable difficulties in establishing his position, if he can establish it at all, because there is no record of the Seat of the Diocese ever having been changed from Kilmore to Urney; and his principal argument, viz., that the Bishops of Kilmore were anciently called Bishops of Triburna "because they are said to have had their residence in an obscure village of that name," rests on a false assumption, Triburna being the latinized form of Tir Briun—i.e., the land (Tir) of the descendants of Briun, King of Connaught in the 4th century. The fact—if it be a fact—that the old Seal of the Diocese was dug up at Urney in the beginning of the last century, does give some colour to Urney's claim. But everything else in history and tradition tells against it, and we are forced back again to the conclusion that Andrew Mac Brady found the Seat in some backward place in the parish of Kilmore, such as Slanore still is, and changed it to the parish Church of St. Felimy. The parish, however, bore the name long before this event, for, before his appointment as Bishop, Andrew was acting as Adm. or P.P. of "Kilmore."† and Archdeacon of the Diocese, which was then called Triburna. Whence did the name come? Was it derived from an old church, monastic or otherwise, founded on, or adjacent to, the site where the parish church was erected?

> "We have no certain account," says Canon O'Hanlon, "respecting a monastery erected at Kilmore either by St. Felimy or any other person. It is quite certain that a mistake has been made in confounding Kilmore Breifne with Kilmore Duithruibh in the County Roscommon, in the territory of Tir Bruin near the Shannon, where St. Columkille erected a church before going to Iona. That is the opinion of our greatest topographical investigators."‡

Neither Ware, Harris nor De Burgo mention an old monastery at the present Kilmore. Colgan, at page 381, Trias Th., identifies Kilmore Duithruibh with Kilmore of the County Cavan, but, later, corrects himself twice—Trias Th., page 494, and in the In-

* Moran's Archdall, note p. 71; O'Hanlon's Life of St. Ruadhan

† Bury's St. Patrick, Appendix, p. 378.

* Ware's Bishops, p. 225, Mac Geoghegan, p. 370 note.

† O'Hanlon's Life of St. Felimy. vol. 8, August the 9th, and Ware's Bishops, p. 228.

‡ O'Hanlon's l.c.; Lanigan's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 12 and 142 note.

dex Top of the Acta S.S.—where he says it was in Connaught. Archdall, following Colgan's first statement, places it in Cavan, but Dr. Reeves calls it "a serious blunder" to identify Kilmore Duth with the County Cavan, and goes on to prove that it is really identical with the present parish of Kilmore, in the Barony of Ballintobber North, Co. Roscommon (Reeves' Adamnan.) Lanigan hesitatingly favours the same view. In 1454, as we have seen, there was a commodious parish church at Kilmore, without any reference whatever to a monastic institution, and we know there was no monastery since; nor is there any trace of such an institution ever having been there; and yet, in the Martyrology of Donegal under the 9th of August, we read that "nineteen Saints of Kilmore, which is a Cathedral Seat, are venerated on the same day,"* and it mentions Feidhlimidh of Kill-mor Dithruibh as one of them. Archdall mentions a monastery in Cavan called Domnachmore, but says "it was totally unknown" in his time. Had he read the Inquisition of 1590 more closely† he surely would have noticed that a "hospital," called Tonaghmore, described as near Kilmore, and endowed with three cartrons of land, annual value 3s, is there mentioned, and have little difficulty in identifying them. This discovery, which seems to indicate the true philological derivation of Tonymore (the field or meadow of the marsh is another possible derivation) permits of the following conjecture.

There is a tradition, not unfounded on historical data, that St. Felim left home as a young man, and led a recluse life in some wild and lonely spot in Kilmore‡ It may well be that he selected the Island in the half lake, half swamp, of the present Tonymore: that he erected there a cell, and subsequently, being joined by others, a comparatively large church, which might truly deserve the name of Domnach, or Kilmore Duithruibh—i.e., of the wilderness (Domnach being merely an antiquated synonym of Kilmore.) The very name Domnach proves the great antiquity of the church. Felim belonged to the important family of the Carvills who, according to Mac Geoghegan, changed their family name to Mac Brada, or Brady, in the 13th century§ and ruled the territory of Cairbre Gabra from the days of St. Patrick. If a Bishop were needed, who could be found better qualified than he for piety and learning, great grand-son as he was of Dubtach Ua Lugair, the celebrated chief poet of Ireland, who was the first to rise and pay respect to St. Patrick at Tara? He would naturally be invited to leave the wilderness, so difficult of access, in which

* Quoted Moran's Archdall, Vol. I. note p. 69.

† Do. p. 72.

‡ See O'Hanlon's Life; also Lanigan, p. 10.

§ Mac Geoghegan, p. 371 note.

he lived and come to Slanore, which was situated along the great high water-way of the Erne, near to which also, as we have seen, the King of the district lived, and there take up his abode, going down to history, as one might naturally expect, as Felim of Domnach-mor, his first foundation. This would explain why Slanore was called a city on the occasion of St. Ruadhan's visit about 560, for, though St. Felim was dead some 20 years previously, yet it was the established Episcopal See.

From the 7th century we have few, if any, historical references to the monastery of Slanore; but we may assume that during the middle ages it underwent the same vicissitudes as similar institutions of that sad time of Danish incursions, internal warfare, and Norman invasions. It did not adopt Continental monasticism which became so popular from the 13th century onward, and the coming of the order of Premonstre to Trinity Island in 1237* probably marks its final decay. However that may be, it is certain that very soon afterwards Andrew Mac Brady erected the parish Church of St. Felimy into a Cathedral. The inhabitants gradually deserted the old place of worship and the old graveyard, which had served them so many hundred years, for Trinity Abbey and Kilmore, and time and storms did the rest. The ancient building soon became a ruin; most of the stones were probably carted or boated away to build elsewhere, and all that remains of the old and once famous pile are a few fragments at the root of the lone-bush which may well mark the grave where St. Columb and his sister, Comaigh, lie sleeping for more than twelve hundred years.

MARTIN COMEY.

* Archdall, Vol. I. p. 70.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF SPEECH HEARD IN BREIFNY.

By Peter Martin.

[Read 17th October, 1921.]

The Homestead—Culinary Operations—Farm Work—Terms of Opprobrium—Dress—Plants—Miscellaneous — Localisms — History connoted in our words.*

Ordinary Breifny conversation is of course carried on in English, but usually it is English studded all over with Irish idioms and Irish words.

The increased means of communication and the influence of the Press have tended much to the obliteration of local peculiarities of diction; but these they have not succeeded in removing. They are closely interwoven in the vocabulary of the people, and have become part and parcel of their speech. So true is this that many a Breifny man who plumes himself on his correct English, in reality very often speaks translated or transliterated Gaelic, or unconsciously makes use of a Gaelic phrase or idiom.

Two reasons may help to account for the survival of these old forms—(1) The Breifny man finds that he can in certain cases express more clearly his meaning by the Irish idiom; (2) there are many household and farming operations, many customs, many utensils, and implements, etc., for which there is no exact English word, or for which at least he knows no such word.

An example will make clearer the first case. The speaker of correct English in uttering the sentence, "Are you selling the horse to-day?" has to move the emphasis from one word to another of the four last according to the information he seeks. Four successive positions of the chief stress give four different meanings to the question. On the other hand the Irish idiom stands in no need of this accentuating. Its user would say (a) "Is it you who are selling the horse?" or (b) "Is it selling the horse you are?" or (c) "Is it the horse you are selling?" or (d) "Is it to-day you are selling the horse?" In other words, where the English purist depends on stress to bring out his meaning, the Irish idiom employs construction for the same purpose, and much more effectively.

As an extreme instance, the advice, "Never shoot elderly people in fun," if spoken without emphasising any particular

* For an Index of the words referred to see the end of the Volume.

word may have any one of five distinct meanings. You would be left to guess, or to infer haltingly from the context what was intended. Irish idiom would tolerate no such ambiguity, nor would it depend solely on emphasis to remove it. As before, it would in each case collocate the words differently; and, as in Latin, bring out the most important one by position. The ordinary Breifny speaker will be found to favour the latter usage.

Again, the English purist had better not find fault with the Cavan man's grammar when he says he "bees" working every day. He should rather recognise the serious lack of what is met in Gaelic, viz., a distinct form of the verb "to be" to indicate habitual tense. The Breifny man felt the want, so he borrowed from his fathers' speech. It is now part of the Breifny dialect of English, if I may call it so; but it is also found, as is to be expected, in many other parts of Ireland. It is likewise heard in Yorkshire.

With regard to cause No. 2—Gaelic idioms and Gaelic words linger, as might be expected, *around the farmstead*. Moments of passion or of extreme sincerity are apt to bring them forth. "Come in and make your kailey" (céilidhe), invites the man of the house. He does not say, "Come in and sit awhile," for he means much more; and he who has never experienced the hospitality of a Breifny farmhouse has yet to learn the full meaning of the word "kailey."

Should the friend's visits be, like angels', few and far between, he is not to take literally the "bean a tighe's" regret, that she has not green rushes to spread on the floor. Although the custom of carpeting with rushes has long since passed away, this expression survives and is still full of the spirit of welcome.

The word céilidhe is not much used elsewhere except in the sense of a Gaelic dance or an all-night entertainment, and this is a late Gaelic League development. It is, I understand, rare in Munster and Leinster. In Breifny a céilidhe is of a more friendly and homely nature than the formal visit or "spending an evening."

If the house is a thatched one, the roof is covered underneath the thatch with scraws (scraith, a sod.) This thatch is held in position by sally rods (saileach, a willow), otherwise known—and known, I think, everywhere—as scollops (scolb), sharpened at the ends, bent double and driven down into the scraws. A poor dwelling is a shanty (sean-tigh, old house); a small house is a wee prough of a place (prothóg, a hut), and a mierable cabin a hoil.

Shanty was adopted into American English about a century ago,* and now finds a place in English dictionaries. Murray's *New Oxford Dictionary* says it comes "probably from the French

* An American Glossary by Thornton, Philadelphia, Lippincott Co., 1912, sub voce.

Chantier." The origin given above seems much more probable. Shebang, with almost the same meaning, is still looked down upon as slang. It is a current Americanism, and a good philologist rejects all suggested derivations for it except shebeen.* Shanty and shebeen, though as words well known to everybody about, are scarcely peculiar to Breifny.

But the term scraw, as far as I can ascertain, is seldom found outside the two counties, except, in the one phrase, a shaking scraw. Hall Caine, though, uses it in *The Manxman*. In Leitrim a shaking "qua" is dreaded. Qua is not, as you might suspect, quagmire abbreviated. It is the Irish "caedh" (Joyce.) Sally rods and shanty are heard in Munster; prough, so common in Cavan, is unknown elsewhere.

Some *culinary operations* and *utensils* retain their Gaelic designations. To "teem" the potatoes is to drain the water off them when boiled (taomadh, to pour out.) Incidentally, "it's teemin'" means that it is raining heavily and would be understood all over Ulster. Swift used it in his *Directions to Servants*. "Teem out. . . . the ale into the tankard." A "noggin" (naigin) is a wooden vessel made of tiny staves, one of which is longer than the others and forms the handle. But the vessels have now gone out of use. If you admit having "brawhan" (brachán) for dinner on a fast day, you are dubbed stingy. Add vegetables, and call it lentil soup and it at once acquires a fine respectable flavour. A "meascaun" of butter is a roll of butter (meascán.)

Boxty is a curious word, only heard, as far as I can ascertain, in Cavan and the counties about it. It is applied to a kind of bread made of potatoes pulped by grating. The grated potatoes are strained through a cloth, and then, with some flour added, baked into a cake. This cake is as heavy as rubber and, except for the strongest men, almost as indigestible. It is also called "rasp" in Longford, but boxty in both Leitrim and Monaghan. At the last Clones Agricultural Show, held in September, 1921, prizes were awarded for the best specimens of boxtey. Muddly, or stumpy, is its name in Munster. In East Cavan the term is also applied to anything mixed or broken up, e.g., broken, freshly-cut turf. The name may be simply a form of "boxed up" meaning mixed together or bruised together. This particular bread is rarely seen now in Cavan, but "colcannon" still finds a place in the menu (cál, cabbage, and ceannan, white-faced.) The white face is provided by the mashed potatoes. This word is in use all over Ireland. A piece of pork or fresh meat for broiling is with us a "griskin" (griscin.) "Brock" (broc) is kitchen refuse.

* Current Americanisms by Russel, London, Howe and Co.

The crucible in which the tallow in the manufacture of rush candles was melted, was the "grisset." A like crucible was used in the manufacture of counterfeit coin. The article is no longer in use for either purpose, but a spendthrift is still sometimes told: "A body would want to keep the grisset on the fire to keep you going." It is unlikely that the expression is confined to Breifny.

"Brosna" is firewood, and the ashes and embers with which the fire is raked (covered) at night are called the "greesha" (grioscach.) A dire threat occasionally held over a provoking child by his irritated mother is: "If you do that again I will rake you behind the greesha."

A "woit" is a vessel like a sieve, but without holes, made of sheepskin stretched on a wooden hoop, and employed in winnowing corn. It is another curious Cavan term, and is derived from an old word meaning skin. A rectangular article, resembling a basket, through which the potatoes are "teemed" is a losset (losad, a basket.) It is often seen hanging on the wall outside near the kitchen door.

A stew is a "praughas" (prácás.) This is also the term for a meal the materials for which are hurriedly got together. The space overhead on either side of the chimney, between the beam called the mantel-tree and the wall, is the "forrah" (foracha, a loft), and within this space may be found many articles of household and farm use, embraced under the term "triosgan" (trioscan, furniture) or trumpery.

How would the irate farmer give vent to his feelings on approaching his raided corn-fields, if he could not make the hens fly to the tune of "hi keark" (hi cearc)? Would a descent into English produce the desired effect? I think not. In chasing goats the cry is "hi gore" (hi gabhar); in the case of pigs "hi muck" (hi muc.) When calling pigs the bribe "deoch, deoch" (deoch, a drink) is always held out in Cavan. The word is quite familiar to us all in the classic phrase "deoch an doruis" (the stirrup cup, literally the drink at the door.)

Farming Operations have a vocabulary all their own. The farmer always speaks of his "haggart" (a pure Keltic word.) Swift, as might be expected from one who spent much of his time in Cavan, uses the term but spells it "haggard." Webster's Dictionary laboriously derives it from two Anglo-Saxon roots,* and declares the word obsolete. But the new Oxford Dict. mentions it. It gives is origin as "or-art." It also includes in its 400,000 words "slane" and a few others that follow in this paper. It declares them Anglo-Irish, but seems to have had no

* In the *Dublin Penny Journal* (1832—3, p. 282, note) O'Donovan states that "haggard" is a corruption of "ithlann," which comes from ith, corn, and lann, a repository.

Irish editor. Haggard is now a familiar term in most parts of Ireland. But "loy" is a word peculiar to the W. and N.W. of Ireland.* The labourer in purchasing a spade or "loy" (laidhe) is careful to see that the head or blade possesses the correct degree of "togal" (tógál, lifting.) This may be interpreted the lifting capacity of the implement. Some spades have a "crisheen" (croisín, a small cross.) This is a small piece of wood fitted on to the end of the handle so as to form a T. A worn-out spade or knife is a "cutty" (cutaidh.) His flail has the "middhilin" (E. Cavan), or "tug" (W. Cavan), or "gad" (Leitrim) names for a very tough piece of skin (generally red or black sally) which joins together the staff and the "bowlteen" (buail, to strike), or "soople," and the "cappeen" (caipín, a covering.) His scythe-handle he calls by the old English name the "sned," and the two small contrivances on the sned, held in the hands when mowing, are the "durneens" (dorn, a fist.) If he has but one horse he usually goes ploughing in "coer" (comhar, a mutual exchange of labour) with a neighbour, or probably with one of his "clowneys" (cleamhnas, relationship by marriage.) The leather band which crosses the horse's back and supports the draught chains in ploughing is called the "drioman" (droim, the back.) His plough makes a "screeb" (scríob, a scrape) from end to end of the field, and the untouched ribbon left after the last score (scór, furrow) on each ridge he calls the "hintin." In parts of the county it is rather the "hone" or the jacknod; but of late years as potatoes are usually planted not in ridges, but in drills, the thing and the term are alike falling into disuse. In the old method, a "-steveen" (stibhín), i.e., a pointed stick or stake, with or without a step for the driving force of the foot as in the case of the loy, was often used to bore or "hoke" a hole in the ridge into which the seed-potato was dropped. This is very seldom seen nowadays. The process was called guggering.

To score lea ground for potatoes is to skin it. This appears to come from "scian," a knife. A "gawloge" (gabhlóg, a fork) is the joining of two ridges. This word occurs very frequently both in E. Cavan place-names and in every-day conversation. Even if he pays a little dear for his cow he does not mind provided he buys her "sorsy" (sonasach, lucky), and of a good "rate" (breed.) The rather common remark, "It isn't right," means much more than its near equivalent, "It is wrong," and savours much of the mysterious. The high-class expression, "It is taboo," has much the same force, as has also the semi-Irish phrase, "It is a geiss," i.e., a prohibition. "It isn't right," for instance, to cut down "done" bushes. "It isn't right to lend

* A loy differs from a spade. With the former the foot is used in driving it into the soil. It is much the better for heavy ground. Laighen, a diminutive of the Irish word, signifies a spearhead, whence Leinster.

anything out of the house on May Day. On meeting a funeral "it isn't right" to proceed on your way without joining in the cortege for a piece. "It isn't right" to dig a grave on a Tuesday, nor is it "right" to dig up or injure a fort. In fact, it is most unlucky, and many are the dire consequences that are recited at every fire-side as having followed *post hoc* if not *propter hoc*. "It isn't right," again, to use any but complimentary terms when referring to the fairies. Besides, there is no dearth of propitiatory epithets to select from; "the good people," "the wee folk," "the gentle folk"—all translations from the language the fairies love. "It isn't right" to strike a person or beast with a rod of the "boor-tree bush" (buadraidh) or elder. There is a tradition in Cavan, as there is in England* that the True Cross was made of this timber. The origin of this strange tradition has no foundation in fact, as microscopic examination of the original wood proves. In Leitrim you will be told that Judas hanged himself from a "boor-tree bush," and the tree or bush is, in consequence, equally uncanny. Neither is it "right" to drive cattle with a holly branch; for holly, the old people say, was used at the sacred scourging."

A "pucog" (púcóg, a blind) is a mask made of boards, hung on the horns before a thieving cow's eyes, to prevent her breaking bounds. There is no term for it in English. To restrain goats from indulging in similar mischievous pranks (wholly to prevent them is impossible) their legs are coupled together with "langals" (langal, to spancel.) A man whose wife is a strict disciplinarian or a "tackle" (tácla), would be said to be "well tangled," and the phrase would need no commentary at a Breifny hailey. A noose or running knot is invariably a "dul" (dol.) Hornless cattle are "meelens" (maol, bald.) In Ballintemple the outer shell of a cow's horn is called the "sluce," and the "rind" or "gad," usually of tough black-sally, that slips up and down the stake to which she is tied at night, is a "reehan." In their early days some old Cavan farmers still living never let out their cows to pasture on May morning unless there was twisted on each cow's tail a withe or gad of rowan tree twigs or "kippeens" (cipín.) This ensured milk and butter against all malign influences for the ensuing season. In Leitrim this gad degenerated into a red thread. The practice was very widespread. In Pagan times, all over the British Isles, the rowan tree or mountain ash, also called the quicken, was a sacred tree of great mystic virtues. Lady Wilde has a little about it, and Wood-Martin a great deal. Joyce says it is a terror to fairies. (Social History, I.-236.)

The miller "shills" the corn before finally grinding it, and the "shillin" is the corn divested of its husk (scilige, shelling of

* V. Chambers' *Book of Days*, II.-322.

corn.) A "kesh" (cois, a strip) is a temporary bridge over a drain, a small river, or a soft boggy place. The spade for cutting turf is a "slane" (sleaghan.) This is called a "slawn" in Munster. There are two varieties, the foot slane with a wing to it, and the breast slane without one. The former is the better and speedier for cutting good dense peat and is much oftener seen in Leitrim than in Cavan. It would not at all do for "spodach." These are light "fosey" brown turf of little value as fuel.

In preparing for a drive or a car or in a trap we harness the horse; but when setting out to cart or plough, we descend to colloquial or Provincial English, put "the tacklings on," and "tackle to."

"Bardog (bardóg, a basket) are wicker baskets (or creels, also a Gaelic word; the rope by which it is carried is still "cirish" in Mullahoran) used in pairs for carrying loads on an ass or horse. The bottom is movable and is kept in place by a pin called "a "gowloge" (gabhlóg, a fork.) Sometimes they were wooden boxes. Bardogs are very suitable for mountain districts. They are not often seen now, though there is a tradesman at Corrafean who is a first-rate hand at making a pair. They were quite common in some districts before the introduction of carts, and that is not so long ago. Mr Bernard Fitzpatrick, of Garrymore, beside Ballinagh, is 91 years of age, and he remembers well when there was not a single cart in that townland, the largest in Ballintemple parish. The first carts had solid wooden wheels shod with iron. Cars soon followed. The first seen in this neighbourhood were called Commissary Cars, for what reason I am unable to explain. They are said to have come from County Monaghan. The present jaunting car is a development of the Commissary car, and is as much an improvement on it as is the latest push bicycle on the old "giraffe" or "bore-shaker" of twenty years ago. Before the era of cars "pillions" (the Keltic word is pillín) were in vogue, and the wife going to fair or market always sat in one behind her husband, the horse thus carrying double. The iron frames of pillions may still be discovered about farmsteads, puzzles to the present generation as to what they were used for. But upholstered ones are very rare. The only one we know of is in Shrewsbury Museum in England. It is labelled a pillion. But it may be expected there are many still in Cavan. A hundred years ago bardogs did all the farm work for which carts are now employed.

A slipe in Cavan is drawn on sliders, like a snow-sledge in cold countries; it is used for drawing stones, or for drawing turf from the pit to the "low bank" to dry. A "pike" of hay (píce) is a large edition of the meadow hay-cock. It is so called also in Leitrim and we should expect elsewhere. "Hayricks," I am informed, are unknown in Armagh.

Numerous are the words relating to *Diseases*. The mother says in "leisgale" (excuse leithsceal) for her boy's absence from school. "He took the "treik" (treic, whooping cough) that is going," or maybe, "He has a "brash" of sickness," (brais, a turn.) Of course, if it was a real "teem" (taom) of sickness he might not be expected at school for a month at least. Indeed for that time he might be "donny" enough (dona, poorly.) The word "brash" signifies a turn of work as well as of illness. A person who enters a dairy while churning is going on is expected to take a brash. To neglect it would be to leave himself open to suspicion, should the churning not turn out well. The word "sheaf" (seal, a turn) indicates waiting one's turn to get work done, as in a mill.

Soreness in the skin caused by exposure is "aeread" (eidear.) Stiffness in the wrist, due to over-exertion of it, is called the "tawlach" (tálach.) Epilepsy is known as the falling sickness or the blessed sickness, both literal translations of Gaelic names for this affliction. What sensation and mystery there is in the expression "he fell out of his standing," i.e., he fainted. Comparatively a very weak statement indeed is the correct English equivalent, and you feel much less sympathy for the sufferer. A man may be so afflicted that he is no longer able to go from place to place, but in Cavan we would say of him, he has lost the walk.

The phrase "to bury a sheaf" for a person is all that remains of an unworthy practice, now almost forgotten. It consisted in getting a sheaf of corn, and, after "waking" it like a corpse and sticking it all over with pins, at the joints of each stalk, burying it with funeral rites in the name of some detested person, usually in or near an old fort. Such person was supposed to wither away as the sheaf representing him withered, and certainly he was bound to die within twelve months. It was cursing by action. There are many persons still living in County Cavan who witnessed the burying of the sheaf. Some of them stoutly maintain it always did its work, and they give instances. Animals are sometimes "overlooked" by special unlucky people with "the evil eye," and sometimes even by ordinary individuals who do not say, "God bless them" when approaching. The overlooking is cancelled, at least in the former case, by burning the letters of the suspected person's name under the affected animal's head. To make assurance doubly sure, the whole alphabet is burned. A child's primer is the usual sacrifice. As it contains all the letters it admirably answers the purpose.

The craw eree (crádh croidhe, torment of heart) is a strange complaint. Its diagnosis, according to a certain old lady gifted with "the cure" for it, was peculiar. It was quite independent of symptoms, and in no way at the mercy of the guessing and inferring and frequent blundering of our medical practitioners, wise and experienced and all though they be. It was this. If

the patient was relieved by (or after) the course of treatment, he had the craw cree, and there was no mistake about it. But if the cure proved of no avail he hadn't the craw cree at all. In the "cure" an elaborate experiment generally with an empty tumbler is performed. A burning piece of paper is placed in the tumbler which is then clapped down on the invalid's chest. There is wonder when (owing to a simple law of nature) the tumbler "sticks," and wonder again, and great wonder, when it gives a loud report on being pulled off. The illness may in reality be nothing more than simply palpitation following over-smoking. Popular belief, however, has it that it is due to a bone pressing on the heart. As to the word, sometimes cree craw and sometimes craw cree is heard. As to the illness itself, I am glad to say it has all but disappeared in these parts.

People with sore eyes sometimes complain of a brawhilleach (brachadh shúileach.) Brachadh (pron. brauchaw) is matter discharged from a boil or tumour, and súil is an eye. Hence the compound word.

Words of *opprobrium* or *contempt* are very much in evidence. A diminutive person is an "arcan" (arcán, a dwarf); but should he be of growing age he may yet hope to give an "arcan's leap." The smallest "banniv" (banbh) or piglet of a litter is also "the arcan," and it is a curious fact that in England, too, in almost every shire he has a distinct name.* In Leitrim, and perhaps further West, a weakling, man or beast, is still a Dunaun. This is an interesting term as it recalls the Dedannans whom the Milesians conquered. In Cavan the word is known but I have not heard it used recently.

As "cute as Gallogly," would once have been fully understood in most parts of this county. Gallogly was for long Governor of Cavan gaol, and his experience of the ways and wiles of those entrusted to him was so full and varied, that he would be a cunning prisoner indeed that could either deceive or outwit him. The expression is now meaningless except to the grandfathers still amongst us. That, of course, does not necessarily imply a close acquaintance on their part with the gentleman mentioned. In Leitrim, as "cute as cut-the-sacks," is the corresponding proverb. Its origin I am unable to conjecture. "'Cute for astute purists still frown upon—but uselessly.

* Thus he is "the reckling" in Lincolnshire, "the retling" in Staffordshire, "the rutling" in Shropshire, "the pitman" in Norfolk (Notes and Queries, 12 S. VIII., 331, 376, 417, 435, etc., etc.) Just as in Ireland every county in England, too, has its peculiar words and phrases. For many shires they have been carefully gathered together and printed in local Glossaries. A Mrs Hewitt, for instance, published in 1892 "The Peasant Speech of Devon" after spending a quarter of a century collecting the materials.

Everybody everywhere is familiar with the word "amadan" (amadán, a fool.) An untidy woman is a "sril" (sraoil.) A tramp is a shuler (siubhaladoir, a walker.) A mother will tell her cross child not to put up his "spreece" (spriamhas, a frown) when spoken to. A "gad" is a slow person in speech or movement, a "fustar" the direct opposite. A person shows displeasure or disgust facially by "putting a 'cor' on him" (cor, a twist.) "Gam" and "gameril" are expressions for a soft foolish person. The phrase "through-other," unlike most idioms of expression, suggests its meaning if analysed. It is much more frequently heard and perhaps better understood than "very confused," an English equivalent. It is a translation of the Gaelic trí n-a chéile. When "gabby" people indulge in a long-drawn-out conversation they are said to have a "seanachas" (seanchas, a conversation); and one who gives away secrets on such an occasion is a "clash" (clamhsán, complaining.) About Kinlough a visitor would be invited to "Sit down and give us your bunraun," i.e., your budget of news. The word is a localism, confined, as well as I can discover, to that district. Its primary meaning is "grumbling." The word "thrape," heard, as far as I can ascertain, only in Cavan and Leitrim, is old English.* The expression "he thraped it on me," or oftener "he thraped it down my throat," means that he insisted on convincing me of something I knew to be untrue, or out-talked me with nonsensical gibberish. "Rameis" (ráimis) is the term applied to a series of confused statements, a rigmarole. The word is used by Col. Lynam of "Mick M'Quaid" fame, and is far from being a pure Breifnyism. A woman who is always scolding is said to be a "barge" (very likely bairseac.) It corresponds in sense with "ballyrag," which is heard everywhere, though the derivation just assigned is open to question.

A grumpy unsociable person I once or twice heard well described as "montach," and a poor stammering speaker as very "guttagh" Both are pure Irish words not often, it is to be hoped, needed. The orator borrows his telling phrases from Shakespeare or the Bible; the Irish peasant from the old tongue.

That repulsive-looking insect of the beetle tribe, the English name for which is the chafer or the devil's coach-horse, is referred to by Cavan folk as the "daol" or the "dearg daol." To call a spiteful person a daol is the very essence of opprobrium. And no wonder, for the old people tell the following piece of folk lore concerning it: "When Our Lord was being pursued by His enemies, He passed one day through a field where some men were sowing corn. Next day the corn was ripe, and the reapers were asked by Our Lord's pursuers if He passed the way. They replied that

* Johnson's Dictionary. A very old Dictionary, dateless, by the Rev. James Barclay, which his reverence assures us is "complete and universal," says of "To Threap" that it is "a country word, denoting to argue much or contend." Brontë uses it in *Wuthering Heights*.

He passed when they were sowing the corn. The "daol," it is said, then pointed with his tail in the direction in which He went. The story may condone an Irish rhymster's cruelty who declared: "Is fearr daol a losgadh na aoine trosgadh"; i.e., "It is better to burn a daol than fast on a Friday."

The robin, unlike the wren, is a bird that is well liked. No boy would dare "peg a stone" at it. There is an old saying that if you killed one you never would have luck should you live for a thousand years. Everybody refers to it affectionately as "the poor robin." Indeed in these parts it sounds quite pedantic to speak of it either simply as the robin or as the robin redbreast. Old people tell a very pretty story about the robin that, as it was doing its best to pull the sharpest thorn out of the Crown on our Saviour's head as He was hanging on the Cross, a drop of the Sacred Blood fell on it and crimsoned its breast. Mainly to this bit of folk lore may be attributed the respect it everywhere enjoys.

In reality it is a perky, very combative little article. In Irish it is happily named the "spideog," which may be translated the spiteful sprite. Hence when a "grown-up" rebuffs an overforward or quarrelsome youngster with, "Go 'long you wee 'spideog,' you," the urchin feels it like a slap on the face.

Note, that in scolding, the pronoun, as in the example just given, is always repeated. This, again, is an Irish idiom peculiar to ballyragging or "moguing" (magadh, making fun of.) The latter is an Irish word which survives in every-day parlance only along Lough Melvin in North Leitrim. The Cavan "make rathers" is a puzzle. But recollect that in Irish "réidhteóir" (pl. raythor) is a peacemaker, and the key to it at once drops into your hand.

One born at Whitsuntide is called in E. Cavan a "kin kesha (Cingíse, Whit Sunday.) With him "it is not right" to quarrel, as his blow is unlucky. Water, too, is to be avoided until after this period, and "so signs on it," a great many boating and bathing accidents occur about then. On Whit Sunday it is the proper thing to wear some new article of dress. A "caday" is a good-for-nothing, who goes "cadaying" (strolling) about. The Scottish dialect, owing to historical causes, adopted many French words. This is the French cadet. Whether it came to us *via* N. Britain with the Plantation (cp. the caddie in golf), or directly through newspaper influence, it is difficult to determine. "Faux-pas," with us disguised as "poo-paw," presents a like difficulty. "Gossoon," usual in Breifny, is also French (garcon.) "Cub" has an equal vogue in Leitrim. Both are asupplanting by "kid-or kiddie" even for well-grown boys. Neither is preferable to gossoon. In the last two the significance is lost; they are "worn out" metaphors. A "skoobeen" is the final game at a card party when the pool as

well as the stakes are played for (scuab, to sweep. Compare English sweepstake.) Reneging at cards (as to the word) is unknown in England. A clumsy person does his work in a "kiotau" fashion (ciotach, left-handed.) In North Leitrim they pronounce it kitoge. The word will not be found in English dictionaries, but is well understood in most parts of Ireland. You have not the right "gohaw" of work on you (gotha, appearance), is a reproof often earned by one not over fond of his business; and when work is proceeding with vigour and enthusiasm there is said to be "ree raw" (rírá, revelry) on the place. By the way, a farmer's home is invariably referred to as "his place"; a house and place, a place of three cows or "sum" (a three-cow farm), a snug place, are common expressions. A "mehill" (meitheal) means, in E. Cavan, as in Leitrim, a party who, for instance, gather the crops of a person who is ill or otherwise prevented from doing the work. A person who is lazy and relies on his friends to till his farm is a mahaler. A man who is unpopular and consequently despised is a "serebban"—burnt bread which sometimes remains at the bottom of an oven is the serebban. A lazy troublesome person is a "sgrios." People would say he is "a bad thing." "He is a caution," looks like English, still, the word (caithsin) is Irish for a crafty tricky person. As now understood it is rather flattering than otherwise, for it means he is something of a wonder. Nothing would "bac" him (bac, hinder) is a clear compliment to a man's courage. Although the word "lawchey" (lághachaighe) is also complimentary, for it means pleasant-spoken, free and friendly, still it is occasionally used sarcastically of a person who goes a bit of the way with everyone. Whether he is a "lawchey creature" is praise or blame will be easily understood from the speaker's way of saying it.

In matters of personal appearance and *Dress* we have "brogues (bróg, a shoe), cawbeen" (cáibín, a hat.) Both words are, I believe, also heard in most other counties of Ireland. The former, too, is now a recognised trade term for strong serviceable boots. We always tie them with "whangs." The word is found in Prov. English. Neither to "trilheens," "shoneen" (little John), "Paudeen" (little Pat), etc., can Breifny lay an exclusive claim. In Roscommon you might hear about the child's "coateen" or "hateen"; there and further W. the dim. ending "een" gets rather much to do. Untidy neck wear is called a súgán—literally a straw rope. "Plaikeen" is a shawl.

Many common *Weeds and Plants* are called by their Gaelic names. The ribwort is the "slanlus" (slánlus, health herb, from its healing properties); a leaf chewed and placed on a wound stops bleeding. Fairy finger is a literal translation of the Gaelic name of the foxglove (méaracán sídhe.) Herb Robert, used still

for blood murrain in cattle, is called "crow dearg" (crobh dearg.) Coltsfoot is "spunk" (sponne.) The daisy is the "posey" in E. Cavan; elsewhere it is the "noneen" (nóinín.) "Pressaugh" (praiseach bhuidhe, charloch) is derived from a Latin word *brassica*, meaning wild cabbage. The primrose is the "share keen" (samhaircín.) The well-known sitfast is always the "far awan" (fearbhán.) The rag weed is the "bohalawn bwee" (buachalán buidhe.) Hyde tells of a long poem in an Irish MS. in the R.I.A. which describes a fairy hunt in which the poet himself took part sweeping alongside the fairy troupe with great rapidity through half Ireland, "with nothing under me but a yellow bohalawn."* Dr. Hyde may be claimed for Breifny for his grandfather was for over 40 years Rector of Mohill, and he must have often and often heard this term in Leitrim, where nothing else is used, if not elsewhere.

If one has the misfortune to tread on the "fargortha (fear gorta, hunger grass), a mysterious kind of fairy grass, his plight is indeed a sorry one; violent pangs of hunger ensue, his limbs refuse to move and he lies down and dies, unless he gets something to eat. It is said to grow where someone has eaten without dropping a crumb. This oversight angered the 'good people." Belief in such things is "pistroges" (pistreóg, belief in magic, etc.) The Fear-gorta (man of hunger) is also personified as an emaciated phantom. Better not meet him. A potato which has lain in the ground during winter and has become frost-bitten is a "stag" (stagún, a frost-bitten potato.) In appearance it is perfect, but it is useless as seed or food—it is deceptive. Consequently a traitor or "renager" of his principles is appropriately styled a "stag." Small potatoes are called "poreens" (póirín), in Leitrim "poteens."

Miscellaneous—Which of us has not used or heard, on the reception of dire tidings, the exclamation, "myaw (mí ádh), and how many are aware that they are then speaking Gaelic? Its meaning is ill luck (mí ádh.) A Cavan man "strikes out" on a journey, and if his business is urgent, he never cries "crack" (críoch; end) till he reaches his destination. He may assure you. "It is all as one (all the same) for me to go me lone (go alone)"; or that "I'd disly (I'd as lief—I had as lief, and obsolescent at that) have somebody with me to shorten the road," i.e., he would rather prefer company. He may "think it hard" (be unwilling) to set out, but if it "be to be" (if he must), well, he puts his right foot foremost.† The steep hills before him he will be apt to call "braes," a word seldom heard in the South. A Leitrim man will be sure to refer to the little glens he passes as "alts."

* Fairy and Folk Tales, etc., Yeats, p. 324. (W. Scott, Pub., Co. Ltd)

† These five localisms are adapted from a comment in the *Anglo-Celt.*

Curiously, the great cutting, a mile outside of Cavan town on the Virginia Road, which drains the Green Lake alongside the racecourse, is "The Alt." This cutting has a history all to itself. "Ye" as the plural of "you" is as marked a Leitrimism as is the word alt. A very pretty custom observed by children is that of holding an *al fresco* feast of eggs on Easter Sunday. The eggs, cooked and eaten on the occasion, are received from the "growen ups" as presents, and are called cludógs. This word is heard only in Cavan.

In North Leitrim young boys catch blackbirds and thrushes in the winter time with a "bird-cradle"—a trap made of boor-tree (elder) branches. In Cavan the same trap is used, but it is known as a "claven." Elsewhere it is a "crib." Clabh is a basket or cage, and clabhán, a small basket, cage, cradle—(O'Brien's I. Dicty.) Hence, it is intelligible how "claven" has passed into the English speech of the people, and is applied generally to articles of basket work.

In Leitrim, again, school-boys still play "coman" (camán.) In Cavan they play hurling or hurley—substantially the same game. The game of coman, like the game of chess, is of the highest antiquity in Ireland. It was played by the little pagan children 1800 years ago. Cahir Mor was monarch of Ireland in the 2nd century. When dying he left Crimthan 50 hurling balls of brass and as many brazen coman. His will is preserved in the Book of Lecan.*

A little girl is a "gearcaile" (gearrchaile) in most parts of Breifny. She is a "girsha" in E. Breifny. To "prog," means to steal or pilfer. A bailiff's temporary under-servant is a "gripper." In the imposition and collection of county cess, Cavan in 1699 hit on a system all its own. The unit for taxation laid down was the "carvagh," consisting of a little over 34½ acres of arable land† The whole county contained, or was supposed to contain, 8,000 carvaghs, i.e., roughly 1,000 per barony for its 8 baronies, Loughtee being reckoned as two. Thus 1s per carvagh yielded £400. The system disappeared about the beginning of the 19th century and is now almost forgotten. "Pay your carvagh," survives. But it no longer means "Pay your cess." It means, Pay your share, or take your part. It is a pure Cavanism.

To give a "caveat" about a person, means to tell something which, very likely, will do him disservice. Caveat (a Latin word) really means with us secret information imparted as to a friend—e.g., if a person tries to borrow money from another, and if a neighbour tells on him that he is already in debt, a caveat is put

* Dublin Penny Journal, Vol. I, p. 95.

† Coote devotes eight pages (6-14) to an explanation of the intricacies of the system in his *Stat. Survey.*

in against the prospective borrower. This technical, legal term is adopted into popular parlance in Cavan alone, as far as I can find out. But "I can take my davy," may be heard at fair or market, to use an Americanism, all over. It is a popular way of saying, "I can make my affidavit." A corpse is usually a "corp." A burial or funeral is a "beryll" (pronounced berl.) The old English "thot" is used occasionally as past tense of hit. The use of "at me," for I have (agam) is still to be heard in Cavan; and the use of "on me," for "in spite of my efforts," is very general (orm). Expressions like, "the cow died on me," "the horse fell on me," are not always to be interpreted literally. The word "call" (cál, necessity) is very generally used for necessity all over Ireland; but at least in E. Cavan and N. Leitrim it means authority—e.g., "What càll have you to cross this field?" says an irate farmer when he means to ask "What right have you?" Such an expression as "Lipton's ones," i.e., Lipton's family or people, obtains in conversation everywhere in Breifny. But it is not confined to Breifny. Mr Rushe in his *History of Monaghan*, just published (p. 69) notes its presence in that county, and states, "It is a free translation of an old Irish idiom."

"I am not 'great' with them"; "He got his death of cold"; "I was in my second sleep"; "What way are you?" "What is on you?" "It's a good way on you"; "From the bottom of my heart"; "From all arts and parts" (áird, direction)*—all literal translations of Gaelic expressions—are common throughout Breifny.

The following additional words are also fairly common—snig (to cut, apparently old English); glug (empty sound); graip (a four-pronged fork, grápa); bunty (bun, the tail); guff (guth, voice); kusog (cusóg), a stem of a plant; brackid (breac, speckled); clib (a colt); stharmogues, old stories (sthair, history); cabbage is kale, bog is moss, and moss itself is fog, in Belturbet district; boreen (bóthairín, small road); puss (pus, a lip); mill (mill, destroy); gustog (gastóg, cabbage stem); clawber (clábar, mud of the road); gant (geant, to yawn); sgone (sceón, startle); bodach (bodach, a churlish fellow); basog (basóg, a slap); puck (poc, a blow); avic (Amhic, O son); moc (mac, do); plamas (plamas, flattery); gisthra (giostaire, a talkative old man.) The home-brewed drink known as "potheen" (poitín) is often pronounced potkeen in Cavan. This k sound of t is peculiar to Cavan Gaelic—e.g., "teine," a fire, is pronounced keine. This peculiarity is carried into the pronunciation of some English words like "frigter," "tune," "tube," "tumour," which may be heard pronounced as "frighken," "cune," "cube," "cumour."

* Cf.—Burns, "Of a' the 'airts' the wind can blow."

We in Breifny are inclined to say, some walked, more came on bicycles—not others came; that Mr Smith has a power of horses—not, a great many; that it is a blustry, husky (sease, dry) or droughy (droch, bad) day—not a windy, dry, or wet one; that Mr Jones is going to join the world—not going to get married, or he is "in swithers" about it, i.e., in a dilemma.

We never speak of a little fellow, he is always a "wee" fellow; nor do we say a lad is swift but souple. The chorus of a song is the "earant" (cantaireacht, chorus—singing.) The man of the house is always "himself," as is his wife, "herself," and curiously enough the Greeks used autos (himself) in a perfectly similar way.

Again, just as individuals have favourite words in their vocabulary so have particular districts. The favourites may be heard elsewhere, but not so often. A Mullagh man, for instance, as you are driving your horse along the road will urge you to "sweetin him up a bit." He means to tell you make him trot out more briskly. In the Fermanagh part of Kilmore "odious" is as overworked as is "terrible" everywhere, and doubly overworked for it has to do duty as an adverb and an adjective. About the famous Swarlinbar spas, for instance, on a pouring wet day should a lady address you most likely it will be, "It is awfully wet"; should a professional gentleman it will simply be "It is very wet"; but should a plain peasant, it is fairly sure to be, "It is odious wet." A country man may also remark, "It is an odious fine day," or even should the occasion call for it, "It is a high odious fine day." Should he exclaim, "It is a 'severdible' fine day," language can no further go in praise of the weather. This is the superlative of excellence; but make sure he is quite serious.

The derivation of "sevendible" as well as of "hate" in such expressions as It is not worth a hate (heard throughout Breifny) may be left to those learned in recondite etymology. Not worth a "sweeputh" corresponds to it in Armagh; not worth a "traneen" (traithnín, stem of plant) everywhere else.

A large number of our peculiar words—i.e., of words in common use amongst us and known along our borders, and even perhaps beyond them, but which would strike an ordinary educated stranger—will be found in Scottish Glossaries and are quite familiar to readers of Burns. Some of these, such as brae, brash, clash, creel, kail, cutty, gab, boortree, etc., have been already noticed. Others—bannock, for instance, whirs (furze), causey (causeway or street), rowtin' (lowing, said of a cow and the usual term in Leitrim), kink (a fit of coughing or laughing)—consideration of space forbids us to do more than mention.

These are certainly not "loan words" of recent importation. Are they due to the Scottish element in our midst? or rather may their presence in both countries be accounted for by the fact that the Irish and Scotch, originally brothers in language as well as in blood, have both borrowed independently from practically the same source? This is a question I merely state, but do not attempt to answer. As bearing upon it, it will be found that Scottish terms are more numerous in Leitrim than in Cavan, and this is what the history of the last few hundred years would lead us to expect.

In the same connection it has also to be borne in mind that the whole of England was once Celtic, nor in fact did the Celtic language wholly die out in it till the last quarter of the 18th century.* Celtic speech still lives upon the map of England, in its rivers, mountains, and towns, and through them tells its own tale. But besides, as with us the agricultural terms used in England are mostly Celtic.† In a few cases—basket, crook, kiln, arrow, mattock—they are the very same as we have. For this identity, again, there are the two possible explanations just alluded to.

Another fairly large class of words which are peculiar in the sense above explained will be found to have the authority of Old English classics. Sheugh,‡ ditch, childre, and byre (our ordinary term for a cow-house), are examples. Leaving out the old tongue's influence, the same is true of very many of our fairly popular pronunciations; "say," for instance, for "sea," "clane" for "clean," "foir" for "fire." Both characteristics are due to our conservatism in holding on to the older forms first heard or learned—the English of about Shakespeare's time—whereas on the other side of the Irish Sea the fashion is changing every day, at least with the educated. Our peculiarities—and each county has a few all its own—are often called vulgarisms. Whether we repudiate the aspersion contained in the befouling term or not, at all events the vulgarisms are quite of as much interest to the antiquary as to the philologist.

As yet the study of such has in Ireland received but scant attention. But when those specially belonging to each county

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* Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A., writing in 1865 gives 1777, "within the lifetime of living men" as the date of its extinction. V his *Words and Places*—London, Macmillan and Co., 2nd ed., p. 242.

† Do., p. 160.

‡ "It neither grew in styke nor ditch
Nor yet in any sheugh,
But at the gates of Paradise
That birk grew fair eneugh."
—The Wife of Usher's Well.

are garnered up, and when they are compared with those already collected for most shires of England, it may be possible to obtain an interesting sidelight of some value as to whether it was Suffolk or Devon, for instance, that supplied the English colonists of a particular locality in Ireland.

As a last Breifnian characteristic that strikes strangers I should not like to leave out the frequency with which the name of the Deity is on their lips respectfully and prayerfully. Two instances may suffice. On a warm summer day you will accost the man you meet on the road with, "'Tis a fine day, John." The return of your salute is sure to be, "It is, glory be to God!" Again, when a farmer's day's digging and delving is over he throws down his spade, takes off his cap and exclaims, "Thanks be to God," or "Thanks be to God for another day." Such expressions, if vulgarisms, are vulgarisms in the best sense. Such distinguishing peculiarities, at least, I have no desire to see ousted or done away in Breifny O'Rourke or Breifny O'Reilly.

PETER MARTIN.

EXHIBITS AT THE FOURTH MEETING, 17th OCTOBER, 1921.

1. Head of an ancient *Stone Cross*. It is 18 inches high, beautifully carved front and back. The top and right arm are broken off, but the left arm is intact. It is a "Keltic" Cross and the circle is perfect, as is also the figure. As it is hoped to have illustrations of it in the next Journal, a more minute description may be postponed.

This relic was discovered in Trinity Island in October, 1921, by Rev. Dr. Comey after a great search. It can hardly be doubted but it belonged to the Abbey of Holy Trinity, the ruins of which are on the island. It is a good deal weathered and most likely it stood in the open for centuries somewhere near the church. The shaft may yet be found. Judging from the size and finish of the part recovered it originally must have been a very fine cross. As no other ancient stone cross is now known of as existing in County Cavan this discovery is of unique interest.

The Abbey in question according to the FF.M. was founded about Christmas, 1237, according to the *Annals of Boyle* in 1238. But these dates may be reconciled. Archdall, indeed, also gives 1249 as an alternative date; but, what is unusual with him, he quotes no authority for it. Doubtless he followed Ware who assigns 1249 alone (Antiq. p. 272. But they all acknowledge it was Clarus (or Claros) M'Moylin O'Mollchonry, Archdeacon of Elphin, that "brought the white canons of the order of Premonstre" (a branch of the Agustinians) from Lough Key, in Roscommon to Lough Oughter in Cavan. Clarus, according to D'Alton's *Annals of Boyle*, died in 1241, but O'Curry's version gives 1251. (*MSS.* Mat. p. 108.) Clarus was also the founder or re-founder of the parent Abbey of Lough Key in 1215—a monastery existed there in 1700. Both institutions were called Abbeys of Holy Trinity, both were on islands, and each island came to be known as Trinity Island. These facts are confusing, and might lead to the supposition that they were not two distinct monasteries. They so perplexed one authority, Alemard, that he doubted if there ever was an Abbey at Lough Oughter at all. (*Monasticon*, London—1772, p. 142.) But the doubt is long at rest.

2. A *Stone Celt*. It was discovered this autumn by Mr Andrew West, of Dernish Beg as he was sinking foundations for the wooden bridge into his island. Mr West kindly lent it to Mr Reid for exhibition at the meeting. Mr Reid believes that if a thorough search were made at Killykeen for stone weapons and flints many valuable finds would turn up, as an important ford existed there.

The Celt is highly polished, black in colour and, as far as known, is the largest and best specimen that has yet been found in the county. There are few finer in any of the Museums.

3. Photograph of a *wooden plough*. The plough belongs to Mr Patrick Dolan, of Mullaghmore, Bawnboy, and the photograph was taken by Mr Patrick Brady, of Tullycoe House, Cavan. In connection with it the owner sent Mr Brady the following interesting letter:—

> Dear Mr Brady—I am in receipt of your letter regarding the old plough. This plough was in use 60 years ago, and similar ones were used in this neighbourhood up to about 40 or 50 years ago.
>
> It might be of interest to relate a tradition prevalent in this district regarding wooden ploughs. Some hundreds of years ago, a farmer residing in the townland of Tiernanavagh was engaged ploughing—using an old wooden plough, and having it yoked to the tails of small horses then called "cushins." Three brothers, named M'Goldrick, were passing by the field where the ploughing was in progress. It is said they were coming from County Meath, and were natives of that county. They were small, dark, swarthy men, and when passing the field where the ploughing was going on the ploughman laughed loudly at the little swarthy men. This so annoyed the M'Goldricks that they came back and drew their swords and cut the tails off the horses, and smashed the old wooden plough. From that onwards certain kinds of rude traces were used, and an end put to the barbarous practice of ploughing with horses traced by the tails.
>
> The horses described as "cushins" came from Cushendall, County Antrim, hence the term "cushins." They were excellent animals in the wooden ploughs, and up to 100 years ago were the only class of horses used in the district.
>
> Trusting the above may be of some use to you.
>
> I am, yours faithfully,
>
> PATRICK DOLAN

Ploughing, and even harrowing, by the tail, if we can trust A. Young, was in vogue "all over Cavan" as recently as 1776. (*Tour*, I -292).* A farmer he met at Farnham defended it on the grounds that the horses, no matter how done up, became at once fresh and active. An earlier tourist of 1681, Dinely, mentions as still prevailing in a barony of Clare in spite of various

* Or see Reprint, Vol. I. p. 211.

laws the custom of so both driving and ploughing. Pynnar, writing in 1619, refers to "Captain Reley" and a "Mulmore Oge O'Relie" both of Castlerahan, "all whose tenants do plough by the tail." A statue of Charles I., passed in 1635, is directed against it and against "pulling the wool of living sheep." Fynes Moryson, writing in 1617, a little over three centuries ago, also for an English public, implies it was the general Irish practice. The plough or the sledge with carriage is fastened, he explains, by withes to the garran's tail, "whereby the tails of them are commonly pulled off." (See Falkiner's *Illustrations of I. His.* pp. 263 and 322.)

The wooden plough was also in use in Monaghan at least up to the beginning of the 19th century. (Ruslre, p. 106.) Three light horses were generally yoked abreast (not, of course, by the tails.) This was the custom also in East Cavan. (Coote, p. 151.) Oxen were used in Leitrim at the same period by two gentlemen, Mr Irwin, of Dromsalla, and Major Dickson of Woodville. M'Parlan, the Medical Doctor who published his *Stat. Survey of Leitrim*, in 1802, thinks that on economic grounds the use of them for ploughing "deserves encouragement" (p. 28.) In Cavan, bullocks then ploughed only at Farnham, and they were so employed as they were occasionally in England (Chambers B. of Days), up to at least 30 or 40 years ago. This was the ancient Irish custom. The yoke in 1800 was sometimes placed across the forehead under the horns, so that they rather pushed than pulled. Coote gives an illustration and description of the method. (*Stat. Survey of Cavan*, p. 74.) At present on the Continent oxen and cows quite commonly cart and plough.

4. The last exhibits shown were kindly sent in by Mr Haughton, Main St. (a) A small brass (?) hoop almost 2 inches in diameter. It consists of a ring, ½ inch in depth or breadth, having a narrow slit in the centre about ⅞ of it closed by a shutter-strip which can be moved round. Letters "A.M." and figures discernible on the inside; "Handock"—apparently the maker's name—"S.H.," and evenly marked lines on the outside. This article was recently found in a tilled field near Finnea. It is said to have been an ancient "sun dial." But how it served such a purpose remained a puzzle. (b) A bronze flat Celt, the oldest pattern, 3½ inches long, 1⅞ to 2 7-16 inches broad. (c) A small black stone Celt, 3 11-16 inches long by 1 1-16. (d) Coins, all found, as were the Celts, in the vicinity of the town. Amongst them an Elizabethan shilling, a number of silver ten-penny bits of 1806 (Bank Tokens Irish)—the five-penny is much rarer; two Bank of Ireland Tokens, both dated 1804 and each for 6s; one silver, the other a perfect facsimile, but, judging from weight as well as from appearance, copper. The local paper, *The Anglo-Celt* in its issue of December 10th, 1921, mentions that two "mugfulls" of silver ten-pennys had been recently dug up near Clones in a Mr Clarke's field.

A FIND OF GOLD OBJECTS IN 1919 IN LATTOON, BALLYJAMESDUFF.

By Rev. Joseph B. Meehan.

In pre-historic times Ireland was very rich in gold—indeed most probably the richest country in the world. This fact nobody contradicts. In 1898 the late Mr George Coffey, of the Dublin Museum, declared that there were 570 ounces of pre-historic gold in the Irish National Collection, the only Museum that could compete with the Academy's being Athens. Sir C. H. Read, Chief Curator of the British Museum, arrived at a like conclusion. Though the ancient Irish gold objects at present known can only represent a fraction of the original wealth of the country in this metal, that amount, in his opinion, "would probably exceed that of any ancient period in any country, except, perhaps, the Republic of Columbia in South America."*

It surprises one to see how well both Leitrim, and particularly Cavan, are represented in the R.I.A. collection just mentioned. A full list of the local objects we hope to give later. A cursory read of the Catalogue leaves indeed the impression that Cavan is one of the richest counties in Ireland in gold finds; and consequently suggests that in very old times it must have been among the wealthiest districts in wealthy Ireland. As for Leitrim, as far as tradition can prove it, one of its mountains, Benbo, two miles S.W. of Manorhamilton, is "richer twice over than all Ireland."†

In 1920 there was published as one of the *Guides* to the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, a Catalogue of Irish Gold Ornaments in this R.I.A. Collection. This *Guide* is splendidly illustrated, and is in every respect worthy of its subject. It is the work of Mr E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., Keeper of Irish Antiquities. Just as it was going through the press the Academy acquired an important fresh gold find from County Cavan. It is

* Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., ii., p. 353.

† "The mountain of Benbo. . . . . is believed traditionally by the Brefnians to contain gold mines; and the following distich, which is constantly repeated, reminds them of its treasures:—

Is saidhbhre Beanna bó
Ina 'Éire fá dhó,

i.e., Totâ Hibernia his ditior Benbo."

—Note by O'Donovan in *Kilk.* etc., *Arch. Journal*, May 1857, p. 353.

In the early years of last century at the foot of Benbo on the Shanvas side there was mining for silver. The shaft is not closed up yet. The Manager's house, then erected, is now occupied by a Mr McMorrow.

minutely described in a Note added to this Guide-book. This Note we abstract *verbatim*; and through the great courtesy of the author and the Museum authorities we are also enabled to reproduce the illustrations.

The supplementary information, contained in the discussion on the use of the objects, appended to their description is likewise based mainly on Mr Anderson's work; and references to authorities, where omitted, may be seen there.

The objects included in the find comprise two penannular rings with large cup-shaped ends; two bracelets, and a thin disc; all are gold.

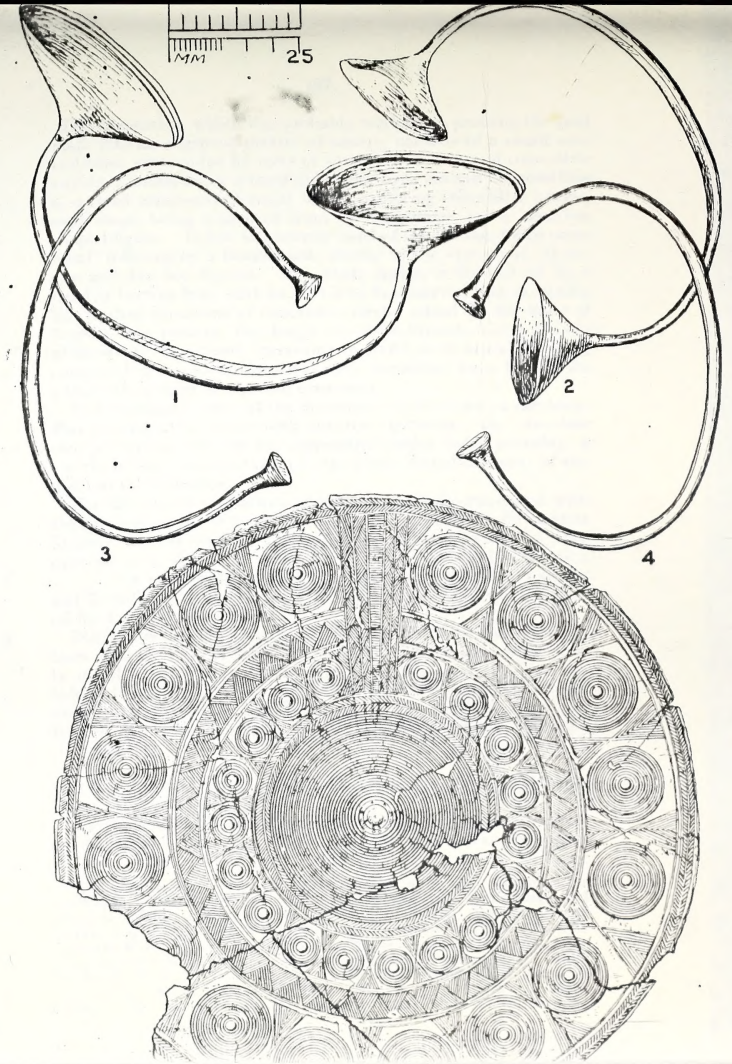
The find was discovered on 11th June, 1919, by Mr Wm. O' Hara, from whom the objects were acquired through the good offices of Mr William J. Lundy. The place where the find was discovered is in the townland of Lattoon, south of Nadreegeel Loughs, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.E. of Lattoon School-house, Mr O'Hara's dwelling being situated some $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the school, in the townland of Aghaloughan. (See Ord. Sur. Sheet 33, Co. Cavan.)

Mr O'Hara, who was the only man working on the bog on the day the objects were discovered, found them at a depth of 4 feet below the surface of the bog, where the ground was quite firm.

From Mr O'Hara's account it appears that the bog in which the find was made was originally deep, two breasts of turf having been removed from it in former times. This, in in Mr Lundy's opinion, would mean that at least 9 feet had been removed before the present cutting was made, so that the ornaments were found approximately 11 feet below the surface of the bog.

"The larger cup ended ring (fig. 1) weighs 1 oz. 10 dwt. 15 gr.; three raised lines encircle the inner sides of its cup-shaped ends; the smaller (fig. 2) is unornamented; it weighs 17 dwt. 20 gr. The bracelets were made from plain gold rods of circular section; they have expanded, small, cup-shaped ends. The heavier (fig. 3) weighs 13 dwt. 20 gr.; the lighter (fig. 4) 12 dwt. 20 gr.

The disc (fig. 5) is the most interesting object found. It measures 4.8 inches in diameter, weighs 3 dwt. 20 gr., and in thickness equals a thin piece of paper. It is considerably damaged, being broken into three separate pieces. When it reached the Academy it was much bent. It has been carefully straightened by Mr J. C. Wallace, of Messrs Edmond Johnson, Ltd. Originally it appears to have been slightly convex. So fine is the decoration of the disc, that it seems hardly too much to describe it as the most delicately ornamented gold object of the Bronze Age as yet acquired by the Irish National Collection.



The decoration, which was probably worked by pressing the gold plate into an engraved matrix of bronze, consists of a small central boss, surrounded by rows of small raised dots and concentric circles, terminated by a band of herring-bone pattern; beyond this is a band composed of small bosses centering concentric circles, each circle being separated from its neighbour by a dice-box shaped figure. Below is a narrow band of shaded dog-tooth ornament, followed by a broad band, similar to the upper one, of circles and dice-box figures. The whole design is finished off by a band of herring-bone pattern. It is to be observed that excepting the central ornament of concentric circles edged by the band of herring-bone pattern, the design is not continuous, being divided at one point by a band, increasing in width as it nears the edge, composed of a central row filled with horizontal lines having on either side a band of chevron ornament.

The principal feature of the decoration is, therefore, a combination of concentric circles with chevron patterns; the dice-box shaped figures between the concentric circles being probably a variety of the cross contained in the circle, found on many of the discs in the collection.

The disc found at Lattoon should be carefully compared with the illustration of the Trundholm disc as illustrated by Dr Sophus Müller. It will then be apparent that whatever may be the opinion as to the other discs in the [Irish National] collection . . . . . it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Lattoon and Trundholm discs belong to the same family and were designed for a similar purpose.

The Lattoon disc is important as being the first disc that has been discovered in Ireland in association with objects which can be dated: for the penannular cup-ended rings and the bracelets belong to well-known and widely-distributed types which can be assigned to the latter part [from 900 to about 350 B.C.] of the Bronze Age. [For Ireland, from about 2000 or 1800 to 350 B.C. —Coffey.'']*

It is now worth inquiring what was the use to which these three classes of objects were put.

About the second class (figs. 3 and 4) there is practically agreement; but as to the other two species the greatest archæologists

* *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, Dublin—1913, p. 5. Dr. Montelius of Stockholm, whom Coffey styles the doyen of prehistoric archaeology and whom he follows, writing in 1908, divided the Bronze Age for Great Britain and Ireland into five periods, but, it should be noted that he dates the fifth and last period, not from 900 to about 350 B.C., but from the middle of the twelfth to the end of the ninth century B.C. Both MacNeill (*Phases of Irish History*, p. 43) and O'Kelly (*Ireland: Elements of her Early History*—Dublin, 1921, p. 135), however, adopt Coffey's view, and it is now the prevalent one. A great deal depends on it.

are as yet not quite at one. We give the opinions held by them as more or less probable, and refer the reader to Mr Armstrong's excellent *Guide* for the main considerations which bear out these opinions.

I. Some favour the idea that cup-ended rings—such as those drawn in figs. 1 and 2—were mediums of exchange. In the Bronze Age small open gold rings, from ¼ to ¾ inch in diameter, were, it is generally admitted, used as coins are with us.

> Wilde, on the other hand, believes that: "They were fibulæ, or brooches, in the fastening of which a portion of the soft woollen cloak or mantle passed in between the cups or dises into the space under the handle, and was there fastened by means of an *acus* or pin, temporarily affixed to one side of the handle where it joins the cup.

Joyce again identifies them with the gold ornaments called in ancient Irish writings *bunne do at* (two disc rings), and infers from the same writings that they were worn partly as ornaments and partly as marks of affluence, "like many valuable articles of the present day,"* [diamonds, for instance.]

It does not seem improbable that they were employed for all three purposes, and not exclusively for any one of them.

A gold fibula of this type, it may be added, is now in the possession of Mrs H. T. Clements, of Ashfield Lodge, Cootehill. It was found about one hundred years ago in County Tyrone in a wooden box. The box, preserved, too, along with it, appears to have been hollowed out of a thick piece of wood and has a detachable lid. The fibula and its case are illustrated in the *Guide*. In the same private collection there is also a gold *bulla*, which was found in County Cavan. It is heart-shaped and ornamented with concentric circles. As to the use of *bullae* there are three suggestions: that they were (a) amulets, (b) reliquaries, or, (c) simply considered as jewels. But Mr Armstrong concludes that it will be necessary to await further light before "their rightful place in Irish Archæology can be determined." (p. 44.)

II. As to articles—such as numbers 3 and 4 in the illustration—the distinguished antiquary just mentioned observes that they "so greatly resemble bracelets that there would appear to be little room for doubt as to their use." (p. 30.) Among the higher classes [writes Joyce] the custom of wearing rings and bracelets of gold, silver, and *findruine* (white bronze) on the forearm, wrist, and fingers—including the thumb—was universal, and is mentioned everywhere in ancient Irish literature.†

* Soc. Hist. Vol. II., pp. 243-4, and Appendix p. 582.

† Do. Vol. II., p. 224.

Besides serving for the personal adornment of both men and women, these gold rings were in readiness, he states,

> to bestow on poets, musicians, story-tellers, and ollaves of other arts, who acquitted themselves satisfactorily.*

He gives an instance of this generosity on the same page.

It will be noticed that this class differs from the first only in not having the enlargements at the ends.

III. As to flat gold dises (see fig. 5) there are four in the British and were already as many as fifteen in the Dublin Museum. They vary in diameter from about 2 to 4½ inches. The illustration of the new Ballyjamesduff disc, the exact size of the object, measures 4.8, i.e., almost 5 inches in diameter. Accordingly, the disc is seen to be the largest known. Some of them, like it, are ornamented with concentric circles variously arranged. Others have in a comparatively large innermost circle a cruciform ornament. This ornament may be taken to be either (a) a cross; or with its circle (b) a four-spoked chariot wheel, which is a well recognised sun symbol. Eight of the gold plates were discovered in pairs in Ireland, of which one pair was found at Tydavnet, Co. Monaghan.

Their purpose is a mystery which can hardly be said to be yet solved. Two or three main solutions have been attempted.

> (a) Petrie believed they were used as ornaments on the back and breasts of the kings and nobles in the early ages of Christianity in Ireland. The figures of the kings, sculptured in *relievo* on the great stone cross of Clonmacnoise, are represented with round pieces of this description, placed upon the breast.†

So, too, Wilde; but thinks "they were probably worn on the breast."

(b) Dr Frazer, M.R.I.A., goes a step further and takes the ornamentation to be symbolic. He considers that these thin circular gold plates

> with their distinctive Greek Crosses, found in pairs in Ireland, and figured on our shrines and stone monuments, were intended to denote the Christian faith of the wearer, and as such worn by Celtic clerics here as in Scotland.

This regards them as ancient badges. But the explanation is defective inasmuch as it fails to throw light on the use of such crossless dises as the recently discovered Cavan one, shown in fig. 5. Besides, not improbably all of them both had the same purpose and antedate Christianity.

(c) The discovery in 1902 at Trundholm Moss in the Baltic island of Zealand—above referred to—imparted a fresh accession

* Soc. Hist. Vol. II., p. 226.

† Dublin Penny Journal, 1832-3, p. 244.

of strength to a rival theory, and the Lattoon find of 1919 will lend it additional support.

At the place mentioned in the Danish Island there was come upon a miniature six-wheeled chariot of bronze, and on this was mounted a horse drawing a bronze disc plaited with gold.

A well-known British antiquary, Mr R. A. Smith, declares:—

> There can be no doubt as to the nature of the find: the fact that intentional damage had been done before deposit shows that this was a votive offering. . . . . The disc itself, mounted in such a fashion, can be nothing but a representation of the sun.

That they are sun discs is now the prevalent opinion. Almost all considered authorities hold it. Mr Armstrong all but adopts it, while stating that "it is possible that some may have been used as personal ornaments."

In 1913 Coffey wrote:—

> The Trundholm disk is admittedly connected with sun-worship, as is also the cruciform ornament on the Irish disks.*

That in pre-historic times sun-worship was known and practised in this country is attested by our traditions, is indicated by the figures of suns incised on one of the stones in Dowth Tumulus, near Drogheda, and is shown, according to Joyce, from several passages in our ancient literature.†

The most significant thing about the Ballyjamesduff find is its great age.

The Zealand find is dated by the most careful archæologists before the year 1000 B.C.; and Mr Anderson, supported by others, states that "the Irish discs may probably be assigned to about the same period" (p. 37.) Presuming on the correctness of this, the articles in the illustration would then go to establish a high craftsmanship and culture in Ireland—or, indeed, it may be claimed, in the region, that later became East Breifny—3,000 years ago.

J. B. MEEHAN.

* The Bronze Age in Ireland, p. 64.

† Op. Cit. Vol. I., p. 289.

BREIFNIAN REFERENCES.

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[The Roman numerals indicate the Vol. and the Arabic ones the page.]

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O'Reilly's country, objections to Sheriffs II., 36, 214; O'R's district III., 94; O'R., Maolmora II., 7.

O'Rorke II., 162, III., 40; O'R., Brian II., 85.

NEW SERIES.

Cavan Charter I., 116; C. High Sheriffs, List of II., 113-4; C. Justices, VII., 139; C. Population and early history I., 115; C. Printers VIII., 23; C., the King's Commission XV., 7, 61.

Clements Family I., 116.

Cloughoughter Castle, III., 161.

O'Reilly's Castle, I., 115; O'R., Miles X., 163.

O'Rorke I., 183-5; O'R., humanity of, II., 99; O'R., Brian II. 200; O'R., Owen II., 190-1.

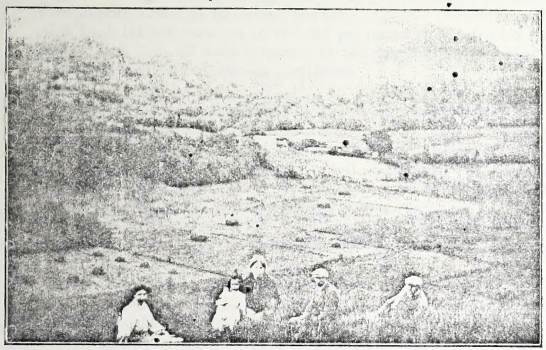
The above list may be useful to writers and researchers in the Society.

FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER,
Hon. Member.

II. (1.) Besides giving the above references, Mr Bigger drew attention to an "Elegy on Fergal O'Ruaire, Chief of Brefny." This was probably either the Fergal who fought at Clontarf in 1014 and died before 1023, or else the Fergal who was slain in 1157. The elegy is supposed to be pronounced over his tomb at Clonmacnoise. It is to be found in the *Kilk. Arch. Journal*, May, 1857, copiously annotated by O'Donovan. O'D. considers the poem valuable, "at least for exhibiting a fair representation of Irish thought, feeling, and sympathy at an early period"; but it is much more valuable owing to his own introduction and notes. It would be well worth reproducing, but for its length. It covers 16 pages.

Except this elegy there is almost nothing of special Breifnian worth in the old Kilkenny Journals.

(2) A more readily accessible poem on a more modern O'Rorke may be found in the *Irish Monthly*, June, 1924. It is on "Tadhg O Ruaire, Prince of Breifne." Tadhg succeeded to the chieftancy in 1604 and died the next year, aged about 29. He was son of Brian na Murtha (Brian of the Ramparts), who was executed in London, 1591, and of his wife, Mary, the Earl of Clanrickard's



O'Rourke's Table and the Smiling Valley, byside Dromahaire.

sister. The O'Rorke poem is one of a series of Irish poems, edited by the Rev. L. M'Kenna, S.J., which are appearing in the Magazine mentioned.

(3) For a condensed history of all the O'Rorkes see D'Alton's *History of Ireland* (Dublin—1845), Vol. II., pp. 151-5.

(4) As to the O'Reillys' history, by far the best we know of is contained in *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, Vol II., that is in the monthly numbers for Jan., Feb., and May, 1861. To state that the three articles are by Dr. John O'Donovan is all that need be said about them.

(5) In the same Vol. of the same Magazine (April, 1861) there is from the same scholarly pen a long account of the Maguires of Fermanagh. O'D. traces them from 1150 down to his own time. In recent times the most distinguished scion of this Irish Chieftain family was the Austrian General, John Sigismund Maguire. In 1760 he successfully defended Dresden against Frederick the Great of Prussia, and is often mentioned by that monarch. He

married a Moravian lady of noble birth, "it being well known," says a contemporary account, quoted by O'D., "that no lady of distinction in Germany will marry a foreigner, unless he maketh it appear that his ancestors have been gentlemen, and their wives equally born, for sixteen generations." John Francis Maguire, M.P. for Cork in 1861, and a writer of distinction, was also a Fermanagh Maguire.

Dundas' *Enniskillen* (Dundalk—1913) and Trimble's *History of Enniskillen*, Vol. I., published in that town in 1919, and a credit to its printing as well as to the industry of the author, have necessarily a good deal to say about the Maguires. But these works are well-known and easily accessible.

J.B.M.

Creevelea Abbey over The Bonet at Dromahaire.

THE BIRTH PLACE OF SAINT MOGUE.

All records agree that St. Aidan of Ferns, or, as we in Breifne more affectionately call him, St. Mogue, was born in Inis Breaghmhuighe, in Magh Sleacht.* According to every writer, who for the past seventy years has had occasion to refer to the matter, Inish Breaghmhuighe, or in English spelling, Inish Breaghy, is Brackley Island in Brackley Lough, parish of Templeport. This is quite wrong. Inish Breaghy is Port, or St. Mogue's Island, in Templeport Lake in the same parish. Former generations called it Inch Island, as some of the old people of the district do still. The "Inch" is all that remains of the original name, Breaghy having passed out of use for centuries.

The equation of Inish Breaghy to Brackley Island was first made by Dr. Reeves,† but it was Joyce who popularised it. In justice to Dr. Reeves it must be stated that his identification was made in the most casual way in a footnote to an article describing the manner in which St. Mogue's bell came into the possession of Primate Beresford. It is merely a map identification, and as such quite excusable, for there are only a few miles between Brackley and Templeport lakes, and there is not in Magh Sleacht, or, for that matter, in all Tullyhaw, another recorded place-name even remotely resembling Breaghy.

Joyce is scarcely so free from blame. Fastening upon Dr. Reeves' identification he constructs quite a convincing story, making Brackley townland take its name from the lake and the lake its name "from the famous island on which St. Mogue was born."‡ This is all pure fancy. Brackley townland has borne the same name as long as we have any record of it at all. Thus the Plantation Map spells it Bruckl, and the Down Survey Brucklogh, in each of which forms we have the "kl" combination which Joyce would have us regard as merely a modern corruption. There seems no doubt that the Irish spelling of Brackley is Breaclach, the meaning of which is "speckled land," a common enough place-name usually applied to heather-clad hills, and peculiarly appropriate in the present instance.

The most striking thing about the unanimous acceptance of Dr. Reeves' identification is that it ignores the fact that several years previously O'Donovan had correctly identified Inish Breaghy. It is true that he had first expressed his opinion that the tradition that St. Mogue was born in Port Island was not correct.

* "Rugadh. . . i nInis Breaghmhuighe for Mhagh Sleacht" MS. Life of Mogue. "Inis Breaghmhuighe est Diocesis Kilmorensis in stagno quodam in regiuncula Breffniae, Tellach Ethach vulgo appellata" Colgan, Acta, SS. (Tellach Ethach—Tullyhagh.)

† Proceedings R.I.A., Vol. VIII., p. 441.

‡ Place-Names, Vol. I., chap. 7.

He states so in one of the early "Cavan Ordnance Survey Letters," written before he visited Templeport. Four months later he added a dated note giving his unqualified acceptance of the local tradition. Unfortunately this later note is placed in an inconspicuous position, and it is my belief that it has either been overlooked or that its date has not been noticed.*

Elsewhere I have given the story of St. Mogue's birth as it is still told by the old people throughout Templeport parish,† and have commented upon the marvellous correspondence between that story and the different recorded versions of the Saint's life. However the different versions of the local story may vary as to details—e.g., the direction in which Eithne was travelling, the circumstances under which she came to call for shelter there at all, the identity of the saint who performed the baptism, etc.‡—they agree absolutely as to the fact that it was on Port Island the birth took place. Furthermore, the miraculous flagstone and the hazel tree, both of which are mentioned in the recorded lives, are both associated locally with Port Island and with it alone; and the clay of the island, which the life tells us had the miraculous power of loosening the manacles with which prisoners were bound, is still preserved in many households in the parish. It is supposed to be a sovereign protection against many evils, against shipwreck and fire chiefly. Not only are none of these essential features associated with Brackley Island, but, although I made careful enquiry in all parts of the parish during several years, I could never ascertain that any fact of any historic importance whatsoever was ever traditionally associated with that island. It has, of course, no claim to fame in recorded history.

No reasonable enquirer after truth could venture to uphold a claim, based merely on a superficial resemblance in spelling, in the face of a tradition so definite and circumstantial. One feels impelled, however, to push the enquiry a stage farther, and to examine into the circumstances under which the name Inish Breaghy fell into disuse.

As far as one can gather, the original parish church of Templeport, or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, the principal church of Magh Sleacht, was built on Port Island itself. The ruins on the island are admitted to be coeval with the church on Devenish Island, that is early seventh century, contemporaneous with or slightly after, the time of Saint Mogue himself. The inconvenience of having a church in such a position must have been

* The first reference is on Page 19 of the Cavan Letters. The later note is on Page 7.

† *Anglo-Celt* newspaper, September 11th, 1920.

‡ The generally accepted tradition is that it was Saint Caillin, of Fenagh, who baptised St. Mogue. In a few instances St. Naile, of Kinawley, was mentioned, and in one an un-named "friar from Drumlane."

felt at an early date, and accordingly the parish church was built on the shore of the lake nearest the island on the "Port" or landing place for Inish Breaghy. When this Teampoll a' phuirt, the Church of the landing place, was built it is impossible now to say. We know definitely that it was in existence in the early part of the fifteenth century; possibly it may have been built many centuries earlier. The fact that Templeport supplanted Inish Breaghy as the name of the parish is in itself internal evidence that the change took place at an early date. We have clung more tenaciously to the old parish names than to any of our place-names.

How long the name Inish Breaghy itself persisted it is equally difficult to conjecture. The evidence is altogether negative. It was not in local use in O'Donovan's time, and the Down Survey Map merely marks the lake and the island, naming neither. The old ecclesiastical records do not assist either as they merely tell us that up to the end of the fifteenth century Inish Breaghy was still the recognised name of the parish, Templeport being merely a sub-title.* From that until the seventeenth century we are without any reference to the name of the parish. In all the Commonwealth records we find it as Templeport.

R. V. W.

OLD LAND MEASURES IN CAVAN.

Many attempts have been made to fix a value for the land measures peculiar to East Breffni, viz., the *Poll*, the *Gallon*, the *Pottle*, and the *Pint*. The extent of a Poll is seen to be about 55 acres, but it does not seem to have been a fixed standard. The State Papers of 1610 give 25 acres (See p. 22 of this *Journal*.) Father Meehan finds in a document of 1571 a "poll" as containing by estimation 30 acres arable and 20 acres pasture and mountain; also in a 1601 reference it is set down as 60 acres arable (v. this Journal.) See Article—"Termon or Hospital Land in Cavan, 1590."

In the *King's Project* for the Plantation of Ulster a Cavan Poll is given as 24 acres "by the Survey." (Harris' *Hibernica*, p. 117.)

The acre does not seem to have been a fixed standard and this still further complicates the estimation of the exact extent of a Poll. The unprofitable land—bog, mountain, and wood—was included in the arable land, but was not estimated in the Survey. The *Ballybet*, (Baile Biadhtach) which was a unit of general application, was the amount of land set apart for the public victualler

* Thus *De Annatis Hiberniae*, p. 231, A.D., 1426 "Inisbrechiriugy alias Tempullapuyrt" id. p. 234, A.D., 1433. "Ynisbreachmaidy alias Tempollanpuyrt" id. p. 237, A.D., 1471. "Innisbrechmaich alias Tempothcipont" and id, p. 245, A.D., 1414. "Insula Brechungy alias Tempollapuret."

who in return had to keep an inn or house of entertainment for travellers. The extent of a Ballybet, according to the calculations of Dr. Reeves, would be about 1,000 acres, but the amount would vary between wide limits. The following inter-relations are established:—

1 Ballybet = 16 Polls = 32 Gallons = 64 Pottles = 128 Pints.

Also 1 Ballybet = 16 Taites, which gives us the relation between the Breffni land measures and those of the Maguires and Mac-Mahons. For "Carvaghs" see p. 187.

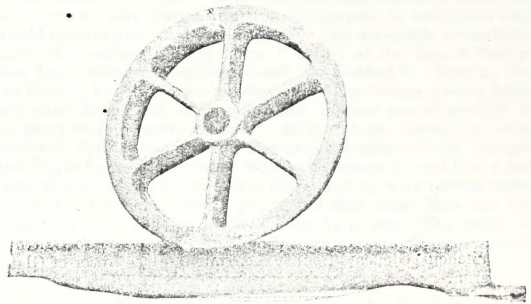
The Poll, Gallon, and Pottle, enter largely into Cavan Place-names.

(See Reeves and Hardinge "Memoir on MSS. Mapped Townland Surveys in Ireland." *Trans.* R.I.A., Vol. XXIV.)

Ph. O'C.

CONVEYING IRON ORE AT ARIGNA—1788—1808.

Elsewhere (p. 180) it is shown that what a hundred years ago served the purposes of the common farm cart about a homestead especially in some of the hilly districts of Leitrim and Cavan was a simple contrivance, a pair of bardogs. Another industrial purpose for which they were employed is worth recalling.



Objects made and used at Arigna, and still there. Through the courtesy of the R.S.A.I.

The Arigna iron works were at the extreme south of Lough Allen, in Roscommon, but on the very verge of Leitrim. Three brothers named O'Reilly started them in 1788. These O'Reillys were the first in Ireland to smelt iron with coal (transformed into coke), a process which they had learned in France. They were well supported by the Irish government, and during the twenty

years that the industry flourished at Arigna the iron stone, as well as the greater part of the coal, used to be conveyed to the furnaces over the heath and bogs on the backs of mules and "garrons" (hackney or work horses) in bardogs. A load was about 3 cwt. So plentiful was the iron stone in the district as it is yet—that there was no need for mining. It could be picked up in abundance in the fields and in the beds of the rivers. The peasants received 2d per cwt. for delivering it, and made good wages.* In England at that time the same simple means of conveyance was in vogue. In the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, there is hanging a fine water-colour painting representing mules with wooden boxes or bardogs on their backs carrying iron ore in 1809 on the banks of the Wye. The painting is by Robert Hills (1769-1814.) It is No. 50 in Room 2.

P. M.

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GLENFARNE TOWER OF 1236.

Glenfarne is in North Leitrim. It forms the eastern division of the parish of Cloonclare in the diocese of Kilmore. It is a large district separated from Fermanagh by Upper Lough Macnean. Under the year 1236 *The Annals of Boyle* make incidental mention of a tower in it. The entry, which it may be best to give in full, runs as follows:—

> 1236. A great army came out with FitzMaurice, Justiciary of Ireland, and with Richard, the son of William Burc, and with Walter Riddlesford, Chief Baron of Leinster, with the foreigners of Leinster, and with John Cogan, with the foreigners of Munster, and with the Routes or Lords of the Marches, until they took great spoil; and they came on Trinity Sunday to the monastery of Boyle, and they despoiled the monastery, and they broke its crypt, and they took away with them the vestments of the Mass,† and they made great spoils on the following day, and they sent scouting parties to Creit [in Kiltoghert parish]‡ and to Cairthe-Muilchen [Glencar, County Leitrim] and the tower of Glenfearna.

* *Geological and Mining Survey of the Connaught Coal District* by R. Griffith, Dublin, 1818, pp. 22, note, and 85. See also Weld's *Statistical Survey of Roscommon*, pp. 33-73. For an account of a gigantic swindle in which in 1824, subsequent to the time of the O'Reillys, a London Company, with a capital of £300,000 was floated to work these Arigna mines—see Weld's Appendix. The affairs of this Company became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry. The voluminous Report is as amazing as it is instructive.

† The F.F.M. give more details about this sacking of Boyle, but date it 1235.

‡ In which is Carrick-on-Shannon.

The above extract is copied, exactly as he gives it, from *D'Alton's History of Ireland* (Dublin—1845), Vol II., p. 386., a History which may be described as *The Annals of Boyle* annotated. To the entry the historian appends the following:—

> The site of this "tor," as it is designated by the several Annalists, was at Glenfarne, i.e., the valley of the alder trees, in the vicinity of Manor Hamilton; but, as no traces of such a building have existed there within memory, nor are any records discoverable, connected with its origin, style, or uses, it cannot now be ascertained whether it should be classed amongst the "Round Towers of other days."

Tor is Irish for tower; Tory Island, for instance, means Tower Island. Though the word properly means an artificial tower (=L. *turris*) still it is sometimes transferred to a high rock resembling a tower (Joyce.) But, as far as we know, there is no such rock in the district.* Hence that a tower of some note existed in the early 13th century in Glenfarne seems sufficiently established by both the above extracts, and there is no need to go further afield and seek confirmation from any of "the several Annalists."

Further, that it might have been a "Round Tower" occurred to the learned historian. It is in no way improbable in itself, but we regret we can bring forward in its support no statement that would deserve the name of argument. No accessible books help. Ledwich, writing in 1804, gives "a List of the Round Towers that have hitherto been discovered in Ireland.† But in the list County Leitrim is not mentioned. Miss Stokes gives a fuller and much better list, a classified one, but not one of her 118 is assigned to the county named.‡ It has to be borne in mind however, that almost within living memory many—Cork, Clonard and Boyle for instance—have totally disappeared; and it is a fair deduction that both in less noted places and in more remote times the destruction was equally great, and that many have not left even their names. A.D. 1236 is long, long, ago. The tower of Glenfarne had plenty of time in which to perish. Once crumbled and gone its memory would soon follow it.

* "Tor" is also in Irish a shrub or bush. "The Big Tree" on the Larkfield road near Manorhamilton, now shrivelled and broken and almost gone, was once a landmark for miles and miles around, but a shrub or bush to be a landmark need not be discussed.

As recently as 1700 the whole county of Leitrim was so thickly clothed with timber that it was like an "undivided forest." (*M'Parlan, Stat. Survey*, 1802, p. 72.) This splendid sycamore is said to be the last tree of that forest, the last of a race of giants. It stands beside Whitaker's Bridge, over the mill-race of Smith's tuck mill. Names and families and appendage to industry are all alike gone and forgotten.

† *Antiquities of Ireland*, 2nd ed. p. 167.

‡ *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, London—1887, Part II., p. 51.

As there is no trace or memory of it to be had in the district, its exact location is, of course, unknown. The late Very Rev. John Maguire, V.G., P.P. of Clooncläre from 1856 till his death on 16th February, 1901, a very distinguished priest, used to point out the site of a battle as directly under the perpendicular part of Ballaghrataghy mountain* across the valley opposite St. Michael's Church, at a spot where there are some large standing stones. He always referred to it as the Battle of Ballaghnabehy; but, except dwelling on its strength and suitability for a defending party, he told nothing further about it. As he was born in the parish—in 1815, on the shores of Lough Macnean, was reared in it—in Cushlaville (now Cherrybrook), lived most of his long life in it† and had garnered up with loving care all its current lore, it is improbable that any other traditions about it had survived till his time and escaped him. But it seems not unlikely that the tradition of the battle may have something to do with the tower and its vicissitudes. It may suggest its site.

Again, it is as well established as anything well can be that Round Towers were always beside churches. Never anywhere else. It is equally true that new churches for the greater part were erected in a parish or district as near the dilapidated or destroyed ones as circumstances allowed; just as if a particular locality enjoyed a prescriptive right to the ease and honour. Bearing these two facts in mind the favoured position of St. Michael's‡—the second on the same spot—and of the "Old Chapel" immediately beside it, would go far to justify a conjecture as to the existence in old times of a building of the same kind somewhere in their neighbourhood. If we seek a trace of it, we find it in the next townland, Kilmakerril.§ But how, in its turn, was Kilmakerril selected? As it is within fairly easy reach of the battlefield site, if there was once a church there the explanation would be at hand and no violence done the persistent local feeling of prescriptive right.

Here, again, is a consideration that both points to the battlefield site for the "tower of Glen-fearna," and makes a step forward towards belief in its having been a Round Tower, that is a Round Tower attached to a church. No prejudice need be created by the absence in the *Annals* of the qualifying adjective,

* Its highest point is 1342 ft. over sea level, the main or Enniskillen road from 331 to 353. The "Big Bog" lies partly between it and St. Michael's.

† Ordained in 1813 or 4, in Kinlough and Drumkeeran till 1856.

‡ The 1837 Ord. Sur. Map, Sheet 12, shows a chapel there in 1836, and the old chapel, then disused, quite close to it. It was on the opposite side of the road 50 perches nearer Manorhamilton, behind Mr Hagan's residence.

§ There is a graveyard here, but no trace of a church, and it must be acknowledged it is doubtful if there ever was one. The graveyard is an old one and goes back before 1836.

"Round." Tower simply or *cloicthcach* (bell-house—belfry) is in ancient writings the name for them. It was Moore and Petrie in the last century that popularised the epithet "Round." In Camden, Lough Neagh's Towers, which the fisherman sees shining "in the wave beneath him," are simply *turres ecclesiasticae*.

But this argument, such as it is, lands us in a difficulty. For in the same big Glenfarne district there is a second church, St. Mary's. It is near the gates of Glenfarne Hall, once the home of the Tottenhams, graced with the famous picture of "Tottenham in his Boots." About the site there is an old story, but the church itself certainly replaces a low thatched one that was still nearer the lake* It was there in 1798. A tradition leaves no doubt on that point, and the tradition is quite clear. It says that the English soldiers returning to Enniskillen from the fight at Ballinamuck (8th September, 1798), passed by it of a Sunday. They turned the congregation out, but did no further damage. May not this '98 Chapel have been the successor of one still older? perhaps of one in which the Rev. Connor M'Loughlin, who was P.P. of Clooncläre in 1704† or the Rev. Charles M'Griskin, who was P.P. in 1750‡ officiated? Further, is it not quite possible that one after the other inherited their right to existence near the spot from an ancient church (a Round Tower church?) which was somewhere about there as far back as 1236? the one which, prompted by the historian, we are labouring to show may be recorded in the Annals of Boyle simply as the "Tower of Glenfearna."

From this it follows that our surmised battle-site for Church and Round Tower has a serious rival. A steep mountain near a church, its intricate paths perfectly well known, would, no doubt, make an admirable second place of refuge when danger threatened. But a church on a lake shore would be equally well circumstanced. So one consideration elides the other.

There is still another matter bearing on our question. This Justiciary Expedition was out for plunder. Homesteads were rare, generally as hard to locate and reach as plovers' ntsts, and in any case from their point of view worthless. There were no towns in 1236 upon which to concentrate. Boyle itself was then a mere village, an appendage to the Abbey. Manorhamilton is not mentioned, though the scouts must have passed by where it is. There was no Manorhamilton to mention; it did not begin to be for four centuries afterwards. That the "scouting parties" went to Kiltoghert is no way surprising. It was within easy reach, as it is but a half score Irish miles east of "Abbey Boyle." But what would bring them 30 miles further on due north to

* In Mullaghbuyn (?)

† Registry of Priests—Dublin, 1705.

‡ *Arch. Hib.* Vol. V. p. 134.

Glencar and Glenfarne? The scenery of Glencar is magnificent, is indeed unsurpassed in Ireland; but, except a strip along the lake, the scenery of Glenfarne is so so; a fig, anyway, marauders would care for your magnificent scenery. Dromahair Castle, as they went North, was away on their left right enough. A century before it had made history in the alleged elopement of Devorgilla; and D'Alton tells us (p. 152) that her husband, Tiernan O'Ruarc's dominion then extended to Kells. His home had corresponding strength. Scouts out to spy the land might be expected to approach it as near as possible. If out for some other purpose they would give such a hornet's nest a wide berth. That is what ours did. But churches, small and large, were in those days fair prey for all invading enemies unless their lowliness and poverty shielded them. Silvery lakes and sylvan glens and rugged mountain would be no attraction. And soldiers from the Justiciary army that not only "sacrilegiously seized all goods, chalices, etc., etc., belonging to Boyle monastery," but "very irreverently stript the monks of their habits, in the midst of the cloister,"* would have small squeamishness in taking whatever they could lay their hands on wherever they found it. Tierran O'Ruarc himself was as bad as another when he got the chance.

That Glencar was the home of a church is not improbable; at all events eighteenth century maps indicate "the church of Killymeehan," behind Nure, and on the Lurganboy side of Castlecar. Possibly it was the descendant of a long line of ancestors (or ancestresses.) That there was one also in the great district of Glenfarne is in itself not improbable, and it has already been shown that there are grounds of some sort for the supposition. But was it a Round Tower Church? The Annals of Boyle oblige us to consider the question. These Round Towers may be briefly described as mediaeval Irish church safes for valuables (and, no doubt, for clerics—the most exposed part of the community.) Their presence had the serious drawback of indicating where there was something worth saving—and lifting. All the greater, then, the attraction for galloping marauders. Such an attraction would not be insufficient to bring a batch of hardy freebooters on a 30 miles ride from their headquarters. A scout party from such a great army must have been of considerable strength, and would be safe enough in making a daring dash through a not friendly country. With fair good luck they would not have their journey for nothing, if they had churches to swoop down upon; and valuable church spoils are easily portable.

* Archdall, 1st ed., p. 602. He quotes from the F.F.M. Weld (*Stat. Survey of Roscommon*, p. 228), requotes from the former and gives the incident, "It was," he says, "owing to the monks having assisted the King of Connaught to dispossess the English."

This explanation will account fairly well for their long ride. It will be hard to find another presenting fewer objections. It all points to a tower church; and if a tower church, most likely a Round Tower one.

Clooncläre has its Donoughmore. It is one of the parishes in Kilmore diocese that stands fast by a tradition, that it was founded by St. Patrick himself, in the sense that he built a church within its borders and placed the district within the sphere of duty assigned the Presbyter whom he ordained for the church. Moybologue is a second,* Carrigallen a third,† Templeport‡ and, of course, Drumlease are two others whose claims to a like honour have been established and can hardly be gainsaid. It would be a pleasure to be able to say with confidence that Clooncläre has, at all events, the distinction of once having been graced with an ancient Round Tower.

J. B. M.

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THE OLDCASTLE "SPEAKING STONES."

On a previous page (181) something is said about 'overlooking,' and there is disclosed an antidote or "cure," considered infallible, to which occasional resort used to be made in Breifny. In neighbouring Meath they had an equally efficacious method for counteracting such baleful influences.

A few miles from the boundary of Cavan and the Dungimmin Ogham stone, in the townland of Fearan na g-Cloch (the land of the stones), about two miles from Oldcastle and within easy view of both the Loughcrew hills and Ollamh Fodhla's judgment chair, are two famous "Speaking Stones." They are the height of very tall men, and the green pasture-field in which they stand is also called by an Irish name which signifies "the field of the speaking stones." To the uninitiated they look commonplace enough. But a learned antiquary, Mr Conwell, writing in 1873, says of them—"In the traditions of the neighbourhood, it is even yet current that they have been consulted in cases where either man or beast was supposed to have been 'overlooked,' that they were infallibly effective in curing the consequences of the 'evil

* Connellan's F.F.M., p. 345, note. At Moybologue (The plain of the Firbolgs) was fought, in A.D. 56, the great battle of the Attacotic wars. The Firbolgs were victorious. See, however, MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland* (Dublin—1921), p. 61.

† V. Dalton's *Magh Sleacht*.

‡ V. p. 225 this Journal.

eye' ; and that they were deemed to be unerring in naming the individual through whom these evil consequences came.*"

Though these Standing Stones seem to have been specialists in "the evil eye," of course they were consulted about things lost, stolen, and strayed as well, and on many things besides. They had clients, too, even up to a period not very remote. There was one peremptory inhibition, never on any account to put the same question a second time. But peremptory and all as it was, it was disobeyed. A pilgrim who had a bad memory once came from afar off to the venerable stones. He put his question and duly received his response. But, unfortunately, the very next minute, before he had right set out again for home, he forgot the answer. Turning on his steps, and totally unmindful of the dread "geiss" or prohibition, he repeated the question. "Wroth with indignation at this open violation of the terms upon which they condescended to be consulted, 'The Speaking Stones' have never since deigned to utter a response!" However, this rash act happened a hundred years ago, and nothing is known to nurse anger so long. The Standing Stones are there yet. In the same field 300 yards behind them is a rath, and 50 years ago caves were discovered in the centre. Mr Conwell conjectures prosaically that in the old days the master-spirit or manipulator of the responses residing in those caves. Some have tried to explain the working of the Delphic Oracle on the same lines. However it may be, there can be little doubt that in ancient times the pagan rites of incantation and divination were practised at these Stones on the verge of South Cavan and under the shadow of the Loughcrew hills, in a district that once formed part of Breifny.

The belief in the evil eye, it may be added, was very prevalent in Ireland in old times. The Fomorian champion, Balor of the Mighty Blows, was above all others noted for it. His baleful eye he never opened, it is said, except on the field of battle, and then one glance or glare of it was enough to enfeeble a whole army of his enemies. The belief in the unwholesome eye may be dead in many places, but though dying it certainly still lingers on in Breifny. A person, you will be told, comes by it only in infancy, as a result of an act of over-indulgence on the part of the mother. But, once acquired, it sticks to him all his life though he may remain unconscious of it. Should such an individual want to buy your horse or your heifer at the fair much better let him have it. The animal would not thrive with you afterwards. The writer

* *Discovery of the Tomb at Ollamh Fodhla*, by E. A. Conwell, M.R.I.A., F.R.Hist. Soc., etc.—Dublin, 1873. p.1.

† Do.

‡ Cf. Joyce's *Social History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 309.

knew one or two who had this reputation, undeservedly, of course.

However, if you suppose that Ireland has a monopoly in superstitions—that is relics usually from old pagan times—you are very much mistaken. Mrs Hewitt's work, already mentioned, (v. note p. —) gives, amongst others—all in occasional use in Devonshire at least up to 1892—a charm to cure a burn, a charm used to stanch blood, and a mysterious plan to detect a thief with the key of the front door and the Bible.* Moreover, this lady antiquary tells us of a Devonshire man who came to her in dire distress because his "poar wive" was bewitched. "Her ant abin able," he bemoaned, "tu zlape a wink nor aight zo much as wid kep a mouze alive. Her is awverluked, zartin zure!" Plainly this dreadful "overlooking" is not confined to our shores. (V. The Antiquary, Aug. 1892, p. 87.) As may be seen by consulting any Encyclopaedia it is both world wide and one of the oldest of beliefs. (See, for instance, Chambers' or "The New Popular.") Chambers' "Book of Days" describes hundreds of English and Scottish superstitions, but it happens not to mention this one. Udal's *Dorsetshire Folk Lore*, published this year (1922), gives many antidotes against witchcraft, as well as many instances of overlooking that happened in 1873. It also tells of a family removing to escape the evil eye. This occurred in 1913.

P. MARTIN.

THE AUTHOR OF "ST. KILIAN."

John Keegan Casey, better known by his pen-name of "Leo," who has been referred to in the paper on Mullagh, was born at Mount Dalton in Westmeath, beside the famous hill of Ushnagh and within eight or nine miles of Ballymahon, the birthplace of Goldsmith, on 22nd August, 1846. He died on 17th March, 1870, before his gifts were fully matured. Still, some of his songs, such as "The Rising of the Moor," "The Colleen Rue," "Gracie Og Machree," will bear comparison with Burns', and promise to continue a permanent possession of Irish literature. Among his more ambitious efforts "St. Kilian, A Lay of the Early Missionary Days," holds the first place. It was published in 1866. It is a long poem of thirty-two four-lined stanzas. The Mullagh traditions embodied in it, he gathered on the spot, and they may be unhesitatingly accepted as authentic. Before writing it he visited the district and remained for a considerable time the guest of

* The late Professor Roche, of Cavan, witnessed the identical plan used near Killeshandra.

Rev. John Conaty, who was then the parish priest. It is a very fine poem. Soon after its publication, between fire side reading and competitive recitations got up in the schools by Father Conaty, it became as familiar in the neighbourhood as a Nursery Rhyme. At the Golden Jubilee of St. Kilian's Church, celebrated in October 1908 with great village splendour, it was revived. Through the exertions of Mr T. P. M'Kenna the scenes depicted in the piece had been reproduced as faithfully as could be done, and photographed. In the evening in a great marquee the recitation of the poem, illustrated by slides taken from these photographs, was the crowning event of the festivities. Casey died in Dublin and was buried in Glasnevin where a fine monument marks his grave.

For his biography see O'Donoghue's *Poets of Ireland*, or the same author's *Irish Ability*. J. P. Farrell, once M.P. for W. Cavan and subsequently for a division of his native county (Longford) who has just passed to the majority (he died on 10th December, 1921), wrote in 1891 *The History of the County of Longford*, and in it he gives very full details of Casey's life, and even specimens of his poetry (pp. 346—356), of which he was a great admirer. Mr Farrell humbly confesses he is no poet himself. "But," he adds, "I can conscientiously declare if ever I did think of attempting to soar into lyrical regions, it was when I read the songs of the dead Leo." Casey's connection with Longford was that he was born on its borders and lived for a short time in Ballymahon.

Ph. O'C.

TERMON OR HOSPITAL LAND IN CAVAN, 1590.

The original of the document appended is in the Public Record Office, Dublin. One or two conventional symbols for often recurring words then in vogue in writing Latin it would be impossible to reproduce without specially cast type. These have been replaced by the words in full. Otherwise an exact copy is aimed at.

In the text of Cardinal Moran's edition of Archdall's *Monasticon* there is a list so similar that it seems an extract from the same source. The date given in it for the Inquisition, though it is not stated it was held at Cavan, is the 9th September. But this may be taken as a slip for the 19th. It gives in alphabetic order the same names, but with about a dozen misprints or errors in transcription. Dromlane, for instance, appears as Drombane, and it has a Balliclamy Phillip; but the only mistakes that obscure the identity of the places are, Dromkeman for Dromloman; Dronnegrasse for Dronnegrasse; and Crosserboghe for Crosserloghe. Casheltarra, too, should be credited with 3½—not 3—cartrons or pulls of land, though their value, 3s 9d, is correct

Cardinal Moran's List is a faithful transcript from the Addenda in the original or 1786 ed. of Archdall, p. 783. Its heading about endowed Hospitals suggests, however, that it contains endowments of parish churches exactly like those returned for the neighbouring County of Monaghan by the "Grand Inquisition of Ulster" in 1591, and nothing more.

For a discussion of the meaning of the term Hospital the reader is referred to Mr. O'Connell's paper on Mullagh (p. 139).

One of our members (Mr Walker) has identified the location of most of the 44 Hospitals of 1590. But it is as well to defer the publication until the list be, if possible, quite complete.

P.R.O., Dublin, Exch. Inquis. Eliz. No. 3—Extract' cujusl' Inquisicois capt in Anno R R Elizabeth Tricessimo secundo concernen' quasd' terr' vocat' Termon Landes.

Inquisitio capta apud Cavan Decimo nono Die Septembris Anno Domini 1590 Annoque Regni dne nre Elizabethe Dei gratia Anglie ffrane' et hibernie Regine fidei Defens' tricesimo secundo coram Edwardo herbert Ar' vic', com' Cavan et Rosse Connor de Com' Cavan gen' virtute cuiusl' Commission' due Regine sub magno suo Sigill Regni sui hibernie. . . . . apud Dublin xiij. Die Augusti Anno R. R. xxxij dtis Comission et al' Direct' aut aliquibus duobus eorum ad inquirendum per sacramentum per bonos et legales hom' tam infra libertates quam extra de omnibus et singulis terr' tent' et heredit' quibuscunque a dta domina Regina et progenit' suis concellat substract' et injuste detent vt per eandem commission' magis plane liquet per sacramentum bonum at legalium hominum quorum nomina subscribrunt'.

Edward' O'Reylie de Kilnecrotte, Mulmore Mc Hugh O'Reylie de slane gen', Tirlogh O'Reilie de Licashell gent' en Choggie O'Reylie de Edreclogh gent', Cahir Mc Mulmore O Reylie de Carrig gent', Owen O Reylie de Donmorrie gent, Eiver (?) Mc Gerroit O Reylie de Mullagh gent, Hugh Mc James O Reylie de Dondawen gent, Hugh Mc Shane Mc Cahir de Shaughbeagh gent', Johannes Mc En Rowe de Ballmeen Rowe gent', Thomas Bradye de Kille i Manye gent, Hugh O Sheridare de Togher gent, Cahir Mc Edmond O Reylie de Agholie gent, Mulmore Mefferrall O Reylie de Lisballa gent, Manus O Bradye de [blank] gen' Wm og Mc Prior O Sheridan gent', fferrall Mc Kenna de Ballym'ken', Connor Mc Shane Roe Mc Bradye gen' Wm Mc Thomas Mc Kenna de Desert, Thomas Mc Peirs Bradye de Cavan.

Qui quidem jur' dicunt super sacramenta suorum quod per dict' pliament' tent' apud Dublin Ternon sive hospital de Tomregin in dict' com' continen sex pull sive carte' cum suis ptinen de jure spect' et pertiner' debent ad dcam Reginam hered' et successores suos vt annex' Corone Anglie et hibernie vt per dict Act' magis plane liquet. Et dicunt quod virtute euisdem Act'

parliamen' Termon sive hospital Clooncosa continen' Duo pull sive cartr' in dict' com' ad dict' Dnam Regiram pert' et pertinere debent et valent inter se per annum ultra oia onera et repris' viijs morete hibernie Et dicunt quod virtute cuisdem Act' parliament' Termon sive hospital' de Dromlane continen' xxxij pull sive cadtr' in dict' com' eu' pertinen ad dcam Dnam Reginam spectant et pertinere debent et val'nt per annum xxxijs Ac etiam Termon sive hospital de Annagha continen' unum pull sive cartr' val' per annum xijd.

[The inquisition in this way recites forty four denominations of "termon, tearmon or hospital" lands, with their extent and yearly value, as shown in the accompanying table. It then proceeds:—]

Scit' et precinct' Monast' de Cavan cont' ½ pull', val' per annum iijs iiijd.

Et etiam dicunt quod vill' de Aghelerr in barr' de Castlerahin cont' 2 pull' ad dict' Regin' pertinet et pertinere debent' ratione attinct' Briani Mc Phelim O Reylye et valet per annum ijs.

Et dicunt quod omnia et singula premissa fuerunt et sunt a dict' Regina que nunc est substract' concellat' et iniuste detent'.

In cuius rei Testimonium Sigilla nostra vnacm sigill' Jurat' predict' opposuimus.

Exd. per JACOB NEWMAN.

Translation.

Extract of an Inquisition taken in the 32nd year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth concerning certain lands called Termon Lands.

Inquisition taken at Cavan 19th September, 1590, the 32nd year of the reign of our lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, before Edward Herbert, Sheriff of County Cavan, and Rosse Connor of the County of Cavan, gentleman, by virtue of a Commission of our lady the Queen under her great seal of her Kingdom of Ireland. . . . . at Dublin 13th August in the 32nd year of her reign directed to the said Commissioners and others or to any two of them, to inquire by the oath of good and lawful men both within the liberties and without concerning all and singular the lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever from our said lady the Queen and her progenitors, concealed, withdrawn and unlawfully detained, as by that same Commission more plainly appears, by the oath of the good and lawful men whose names are written below:—

Edward O Reylie of Kilncerotte, Mulmore Mc Hugh O Reylie of Slane, gentleman, Tirlogh O Reilie of Liscashell gent., en Choggie O Reylie of Edrelogh, gent, Cahir Mc Mulmore O Reylie of Carrig, gent, Owen O Reylie of Donnorrie gent, Eiver (?)

Mc Gerron O Reylie of Mullagh, gent, Hugh Mc James O Reylie Dondawen, gent, Hugh MacShane Mc Cahir of Shaughteagh, gent, John Mc En Rowe of Baillyj Mc en Rowe, gent, Thomas Bradye of Kilke i Manye, gent, Hugh O Sheridane of Togher gent Cahir Mc Edmond O Reylie of Aghelie, gent, Mulmore Mc Ferrall O Reylie of Lisballa, gent, Manus O Bradye of [————] gent, Wm Og Mc Prior O Sheridan, gent, Ferrall Mc Kenna of BallyMcKen[na], Connor Mc Shane Roe Mc Bradye, gent, Wm Mc Thomas McKenna of Desert, Thomas Mc Peirs Bradye, of Cavan.

Who, being sworn, say on their oath that by the said Parliament held at Dublin the Termon or Hospital of Tomregin in the said county, containing six pulls or cartrons with their appurtenances should of right belong and pertain to the said Queen, her heirs and successors as annexed to the Crown of England and Ireland as by the said Act more plainly appears; and they say that by virtue of that same Act of Parliament the Termon or Hospital of Clooncosa, containing two pulls or cartrons in the said county pertains and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen and are worth between them 8s Irish money *per ann.* beyond the charges and reprises. And they say that by virtue of that same Act of Parliament the Termon or Hospital of Dromlane, containing 32 pulls or cartrons in the said county, with appurtenances belong and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen, and are worth *per ann.* 32s; and also the Termon or Hospital of Annagha, containing one pull or cartron, worth *per ann.* 12d.

[and so on as shown in the list on next page.]

The site and precinct of the Monastery of Cavan containing half a pull, worth per ann. 3s1d.

And they say also that the townland of Aghalerr in the barony of Castlerahan containing 2 pulls pertains and ought to pertain to the said Queen by reason of the attainder of Brian Mc'Phelim O'Reylye, and they are worth 2s *per ann.*

And they say that all and singular the premises were and are withdrawn, concealed and unlawfully detained from the said Queen.

In testimony whereof we have affixed our seals together with the seals of the jurors aforesaid.

Exd. by JAMES NEWMAN.

Note—The word "pull" for which "poll" appears in English, was a local denomination of land, of very different significance from the English pole or perch. According to the values set out in the foregoing Inquisition a *pull* (except that half "pull" which was the site of the monastery of Cavan with, no doubt, its buildings) was valued at 12d, and an acre (as at Clona) was valued

at 1d, from which it would appear that in this case a pull contained 12 acres. But in the lease of certain monastery lands obtained from Queen Elizabeth by Hugh O'Reyly of the Brennye, chief of his nation, in 1571 each "poll" is said to contain by estimation 30 acres arable land and 20 pasture and mountain*; and in 1601, when an inquisition was taken into the possessions of Mol mory O Reylie who was slain in the Queen's service at the Battle of the Yellow Ford in 1598 it is said that each *pull* contains 60 acres arable.† These discrepancies are probably due to uncertain notions of what made an acre. To the English official it was then, as now, based on the perch of 16½ feet‡; but this measure was not of ordinary use in Ireland; even in the Pale the "country measure" gave an acre containing three§ or even four‖ standard acres. What a juror in a purely Irish district meant is hardly to be discovered from the English lawyers' drafting of the return to the inquisition.

LIST OF TERMON OR HOSPITAL LANDS IN CAVAN.

Denomination, Tomregin; extent, 6 pulls or cartrons; and Clooneosa; extent, 2 pulls or cartrons; yearly value, of both combined, 8s. Dromlane; extent, 32 pulls or cartrons; yearly value, 32s. Annaba; extent, 1 pull or cartron; yearly value, 12d; Casheltarra, 3½, 3s 9d; Urnye, 3; 3s; Kilmore, 6; 6s; Dynn, 8; 8s; Tonaghmore by Kilmore, 3; 3s; Markill, 2; 2s; Annaghgalve, ½; 6d; Lawye, 2¾; 2s 9d; Largarboye, ¼; 6d; Larra, 3; 3s; Magherieh ullagh, 3; 3s; Dronge, 1½; 1s 6d; Killisertdenyn, 6; 6s; Dromegrasse, 1; 12d; Dromgowna, 2; 2s; Knockabrydy, ½; 6d; Kilconny, 1; 12d; Inneskyn 2; 2s; Moybolge, 3s; 3s; Rantavin, 2; 2s; Rahawna, 1; 12d; Killenkeare, 2; 2s; Ballydanny Phillip, 3; 3s; Largarn, 2; 2s; Casterahin 2; 2s; C(r)osserloghe, 4; 4s; Montercomaght ½; 6d; Clonkyaghvoy, 4; 4s; Kylbryde, ½; 6d; Ballymachnight (?), 3 acres; 3d; Kildromfeart, 8 pulls, 8s; Ballintample, 2 pulls; 2s; Dromloman, 1; 12d; Kildallan, 2; 2s; Slanerbe 1; 12d; Clona, 1 acre; 1d; Kilfert, 2 pulls; 2s; Templeport, 4 pulls; 4s; Templedowa, 1; 12d; Killeynagh, 1; 12d.

In this list the lands of forty-four Cavan Hospitals are accounted for. Drumlane's is included, but not Cavan Monastery's ½ pull nor the attainted Brian O'Reilly's townland of Aghalerr, which contained 2 pulls. The latter certainly was not Hospital land. J.B.M.

* *Fiants* Eliz. No. 1681.
† *Cavan Inquis.* P.R.O., Dublin.
‡ *Fiants* Eliz., 5032.
§ Ib. 5745.
‖ Ib. 5803.

BOOK REVIEW.

History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years 1660-1860 by Denis Carolan Rushe, B.A.—Dundalk; Wm. Tempest, 1921. 12s 6d net.

Mr Carolan Rushe, whom we are very pleased to claim as one of our members, needs no introduction to the readers of this or any other Irish Antiquarian Journal. On subjects of general archæological interest he has long been an authority among the authorities themselves; and he is, of course, *the* authority on all matters appertaining to the history of his native county back to the landing of the lady Ceasair. In two charming books, and in numerous articles he had already made many of us more familiar with the social and economic conditions of MacMahon's county during the past three hundred years than we can ever hope to be with those of our own. Single-handed, he had done most of the labour of a local Antiquarian Society himself. It was with more than usual expectation, therefore, that we awaited delivery of his last and most ambitious work; and expectation has been richly rewarded.

It is not within our province to deal with the political history which, as might be expected, forms so large a portion of the book. We shall content ourselves by saying that the author never intrudes his personal views save where he comments. His facts are as reliable as a Blue Book.

It is impossible within the compass of a brief notice to attempt to do justice to the social and economic history to which Mr Rushe devotes several chapters. In our estimation these chapters are by far the best in the book. It would be difficult to conceive a clearer presentation than he gives of the whole social fabric of the county, from the labouring man to the county magnate, or a more thorough analysis of Monaghan's industrial life during the closing years of the 18th century. These are matters of deep interest to any Irish antiquarian. They are not to be gathered from either Annalists or State Records, but from native observation and native tradition now fast fading away.

In the light of our own reading of Breifne history—with the possible exception of the N.E. border, where the proximity of Monaghan must have considerably affected us—the lives of Cavan people did not approach as closely the Monaghan standards as one might expect. The reasons are, perhaps, discoverable in the fact that Cavan had an earlier experience of feudalism than had Monaghan. The Jacobean Plantation, as Mr Rushe points out, affected County Monaghan to a much smaller extent than it did County

Cavan. Moraghan was approximately a two class county—gentry and commonalty. There was a quite distinct yeoman class in Cavan, and the existence of the feudal yeoman presupposes a *tiers état*, or a thrall class. Such scraps of records as we have show that the lower classes in County Cavan must have been much worse off in the 18th century than those of the corresponding classes in County Monaghan. Certainly, their daily wages and their accompanying perquisites were far short of those which Mr Rushe gives as current in his county at the same time. If we can trust the *Parliamentary Gazetteer* this unfortunate state of affairs continued well into the 19th century; for it sums up the condition of the small Cavan farmers prior to the famine as follows:—

> Miserable tenantry exist in penury, degradation, abasement and ignorance, probably quite as great as the serfs of feudalised Europe during the Middle Ages.

If such was the small farmer's condition what must have been that of those not so favourably circumstanced?

We are highly pleased with the author's treatment of Hearth Money Roll. Adopting the first partial census of the New Ireland after the Commonwealth Plantation as the jumping off place in his history, he shows how much may be deduced from even a partial analysis of this extremely important enumeration. Mr Rushe's enumeration is confessedly incomplete. He has, however done work of the greatest antiquarian importance in placing the full lists of the Rolls extant for Monaghan at the disposal of local antiquarians who may desire to carry the study further. In recent years quite a number of tyros have taken to the cult of the Hearth Money Roll. But with most of them their investigations are confined to topographical verifications, or to identifications of modern surnames in their 17th century garb. To all such we recommend a close study of the chapter on the subject.

The author will pardon drawing his attention to one little thing that grated. He apologises for the anglicised generation which calls Scarrageeragh Emyvale. The "vale," we presume, is English, but the "Emy" is as old as the Collas, and marks the inland home of the Uí Meith who were called Uí Meith Macha to distinguish them from the members of the same family, the Uí Meith Mara, who have given their name to Omeath on the Eastern border of the Collas' kingdom.

Mr Shane Leslie, himself a Monaghan man, contributes a fine introduction. The book is richly illustrated. It is published by the Dundalgan Press, Dundalk, a sufficient guarantee that in form it is as flawless as any book brought out in this country could be.

AODH FIONN.

LITERARY NOTES.

The Uí Ceinnsealaigh Historical Society of Wexford is, in its aims and objects a twin society to the Breifny Antiquarian one. As if further to justify the expression both were born on the same day; its initial meeting was held on the 8th January, 1920, as was ours. Later on our distinguished contributor—Dr Grattan-Flood—assisted it by an inaugural lecture delivered at Wexford town.

The first number of its annual, *The Past*, is a splendid production of 157 pages well illustrated. The articles, though excellent, can hardly be expected to be of any special interest to our members; Wexford is very far away. Yet strange to say, the very first words on the first printed page show a connection between Kilmore and Ferns—a diocese that embraces, along with a southern portion of Wicklow, almost the entire of County Wexford. A beautiful sonnet by Father Paul Kehoe, which introduces the volume, has as it opening lines:—

> Here, in the land of Sainted Aidan trod,
> Deep shall we delve for relics of the past.

Moreover, the front of the highly ornate cover has as its centre-piece a fine illustration of the Saint receiving in the year 600 a grant of lands at Ferns—and Ferns was afterwards the capital of Leinster—from King Brandulp.

The Breifny Society wishes its Sister Society all success; and more particularly in its efforts to trace the life and labours of the Sainted Aidan, a Saint born in Cavan in the sixth century, who is honoured as the founder and patron of this Wexford diocese.

Of the South-Eastern corner of Ireland, just specified, there are already two fine histories; one in six volumes (£1 to £2 per volume) of "The Town and County of Wexford" by Mr Hore, and one of "The Diocese of Ferns"—a dioecese which, as stated, taken in almost all Wexford—by Dr Grattan-Flood. Still a county's history is practically inexhaustible. Scholarship, besides, is advancing every day; new sources of information are being laid bare, new facts reached, and new lights thrown on old facts. There is no finality. So there was felt the need for a Wexford Historical Society.

Breifny has a long lee-way to make up. The only work, purporting to be historical and dealing specifically with any portion of it, that we know of, is "Sketches of the Highlands of Cavan," etc., by a "Looker-On." It was published by James Reed, Belfast, in 1856.

The "Looker-On" was Rev. Randal M'Collum, the Presbyterian Minister of Shercock; and the sketches and articles contributed to the local Press, put together in this book, were penned

during the famine years. They are honestly and boldly written, and brightened by many poetic quotations. No one is obliged to accept the theories and speculations; but there is no reason, that we know of, against accepting the facts as far as they go. They were carefully gathered and throw much light on Cavan. If all books are good, though some better than others, then there can be no gainsaying but the "Highlands" is the best historical work dealing with Breifny. It is now not easy to get. But twenty years ago it sold as a "remainder" in Smithfield Market, Belfast, for a very small sum.

A correspondent in *The Irish Book Lover* (Aug.-Sept., 1921, p. 18) in a reply to one of our members ("F.J.B.") states that Rev. Mr M'Collum also wrote "Revival of Christianity in Ulster" (Derry, 1861); on "The Arminian Controversy" (Belfast, 1862); "Hughesiana" (ibid, 1864); and a "Memoir of Dr Cooke" (ibid, 1869); and that all of them are in the Library of Magee College, Derry.

Though there is no obligation whatever to do so, members are earnestly invited to contribute papers or articles. In the preparation of them any assistance in their power will be gladly given by the Editorial Committee. There is now available a fairly large number of documents and books, and any of these, if needed, would be lent with pleasure. Of course, subjects of Breifnian interest alone would suit. As a thousand and one such subjects clamour for notice it would be improbable that two members would select the same theme. But the slight danger can be obviated by communicating with the Hon. Secretary. It should be remembered that a homely description of something in one's own district hitherto unnoticed in print would be the most welcome of all. Articles, no matter how carefully written, made up out of books and records already in print, and out of danger of perishing, are for an Antiquarian Journal only second-class matter (See pp. 2 and 3, and also pp. 10-15 in this Journal.)

Members are also urgently requested to inform the Hon Secretary about any object of antiquity, no matter how apparently trivial, that exists or may turn up in their neighbourhood.

For the three Dromahair illustrations, and also for that of O'Curry, the Society is indebted to the kindness of Messrs Gill and Son, Dublin. In the one on the front of the cover the walls of O'Rourke's Banqueting Hall are first discernible on the left, behind the bridge; but they are a great deal higher than one would infer from the photograph. The modern mansion on the right, electrically lighted, is the residence of Captain G. Hewson, D.L. Behind it, but out of the picture, is Villiers' Castle, a splendid ruin. All these buildings on the banks of the Bonet occupy the site, and most probably embody the stones, of the last of the O'Rourke strongholds of the early 17th century.

In the Cavan Election for two Knights of the Shire, held in 1761, the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan's father, James Grattan, Recorder of Dublin, voted. He was the 532nd out of a total of 1,157 to record his vote, and this he did on the 6th day. The polling lasted from Monday, the 4th May, till Saturday, the 23rd, both inclusive, i.e., for full three weeks. The High Sheriff of the year was Sir Archibald Acheson, and his MS. Poll Book Reads:—

> No. of voter, 532; Voter's name, James Grattan; Freehold out of which he votes, Garryross; Place of Abode, Dublin. He was one of fifty that came from Dublin to exercise the franchise in that strenuous election. About double that number came from various other parts of Ireland, and travelling was by no means easy in those days. Two came all the way from the "City of Cork."

The townland named lies a mile west of L. Sheelin. It was in his grandson's hands, son of the great tribune, until after 1850. This is evidenced by a lease dated the 25th March in that year from Henry Grattan to Patrick Fitzsimons, the largest tenant of Garryross. Its other 22 occupiers were tenants at will. Subsequently the townland was acquired by "Charles Langdale and others," and they sold it in the Landed Estates Court along with Derrylane, Lackan Lower, Legaweel and Legaginny, all in the parish of Ballintemple and Barconny-Grattan, near Mountprospect. Probably all these townlands as well were included in the Grattan Estate, and belonged at one time to the famous orator. Lackan Lower certainly did.

In a paper read on June 27th, 1921, before the R.I.A., Mr J. P. Dalton adduces the strongest reasons for holding both that the "Domnach Maighe Sleacht," of the Tripartite, was within the double-ringed rath still surrounding the chapel and graveyard of Kilnavart in the parish of Templeport, and that Cromm Cruaich stood on Derryragh Rath, which is a mile S.W. of Kilnavart and beside the village of Ballymagauran. Locally Derryragh is pronounced Derraugh. On the other hand, both Canon O'Hanlon and Archbishop Healy located this famous pre-Christian idol at Edertinny, a low limestone ridge in the parish of Ballinamore, nearly midway between Ballinamore town and Fenagh, and about six miles almost due west of Ballymagauran. The latter popular historian, moreover, considered that the ruins of Oughteragh Church indicate the site of the Domnach Maighe Sleacht or Church of St. Patrick. Both these interrelated opinions must give way, we believe, to Mr Dalton's investigations. Oughteragh is the older (and better) title of Ballinamore parish, and there is a distinct local tradition that the original place of worship at Oughteragh (in the "upper" field), from which it took the name, was built not by St. Patrick, but by St. Brigid. The tradition corroborates Mr Dalton's conclusions.

In passing through Magh Rein, on his way to Magh Slecht and just before entering it, Patrick "ordained Bruscus (or Brose) to the ministry and founded a church." Bruscus, no doubt, was commissioned to attend to Magh Rein (or part of it) as was a little later Methbrain, the Apostle's relative, to Magh Slecht. Mr Dalton suggests that the ancient Church of the Moy at Newtowngore, now a ruin, marks the spot where Bruscus began his mission. The hamlet is in the parish of Carrigallen. Should Mr Dalton's conjecture be upheld this is still another parish in Kilmore that can enter a claim to foundation by our National Apostle.

The paper referred to is entitled *Cromm Cruaich of Magh Slecht*. It is a most valuable contribution to Breifnian antiquities, and has just been published in the Academy's Proceedings (Dublin—Hodges, Figgis, and Co.—2s 6d.

ORBITUARY NOTICES.

The Society has to regret the death of three of its members during the year 1921.

The first is *Rev. Brother Justin* (Cooke), Superior of the Marist Institute, Bailieboro', who passed away on the 18th February, at the early age of 45. Brother Justin was born in Coothill on the 15th May, 1875. At the age of 25 he relinquished a most promising commercial career in Glasgow to join the Order of which he became a distinguished member. He was a man of great broadmindedness, of wide information, and marked ability. The Cavan Technical Committee, at once recognising both his tact and his unusual grasp of agricultural and technical matters, asked him to become their Chairman, and to the request, unanimously made, with the permission of his Superiors, he acceded. Lisgar Castle, Bailieboro', intended as the Marist Juniorate and Novitiate for the British Isles, was taken over in March, 1915. The burning down of this house by a disastrous fire in November, 1918, was for Brother Justin, its Director, a great trial. In coping with the many difficulties arising out of it he showed equal courage and resourcefulness. The new building he had begun to erect on its ruins will be, when completed, one of the finest colleges in the land, with accommodation for 300 students.

As to the local Antiq. Society he was among the first, when the project was mooted, to encourage its establishment and to write promising his support. He came all the way from Bailieboro' to attend its first General Meeting. Owing to his scholarship, his keen interest in everything relating to his native county and his knowledge of its past, the Society recognises that in losing him it loses one of its most earnest and promising members. To his relatives in Coothill, as well as to his colleagues of the great Congregation of 5,000, whose lives are given up to the spread in all parts of religion and education, it begs to tender its most respectful sympathy.

A month earlier the Society had to regret the death of another of its original members, Mr Henry Kennedy, B.L.

Mr Kennedy belonged to an old Cavan family that has been living in the county town for many generations. His grandfather, Mr Edward J. Kennedy, had all the honours the town could confer; was several times Mayor of Cavan, and along with the late Mr John Gannon, faced great personal risks for public ends, and did all it was then possible for energy and foresightedness to accomplish for the town's progress and prosperity. Theirs are the outstanding names among those that filled the highest Civic office. It is of interest to observe that Lacken Lower, Mr Ed. Kennedy's property in the Ballinagh district* had once been owned by Henry Grattan, of 1782 fame. A visit in connection with it of the great orator to Ballinagh was an event that is not yet forgotten.

On removing to Dublin, Mr Ed. Kennedy's son, another Edward, was High Sheriff of the City in the year of his father's death, 1885, and Lord Mayor of Dublin five years subsequently.

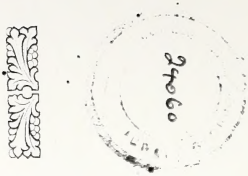
Mr Henry Kennedy, youngest son of the late Mr Hugh P. Kennedy, C.S., Cavan, was educated at Clongowes. He served as an Officer in the Great War, was captured by the Germans, and remained a prisoner for over a year. His death occurred in Switzerland on 8th January, 1921, the result of an accident.

Harry Kennedy, as everybody affectionately called him, was one of the best of friends and most genial of companions. His death at a comparatively early age is regretted by all who knew him, and more especially by his townsmen and by his brother Barristers of the N.E. Circuit. He helped in the formation of the Antiquarian Society with great zest, just as would in anything that he believed would promote either good-fellowship, direct amusement, or the gain and pleasure of enlightenment, particularly in his native town and county.

A lady was the last of our members who left us in 1921 for "the undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns"—Miss Martha Lough, Drom Mollae House, Killeshandra. The family to which she belonged came originally from Monaghan—an ancestor in 1672 entertained John Wesley at their home near Clones—but it has been identified with Cavan. In the 19th, as well as in the 18th century, it made sacrifices for principle. But,

* V. p. 225 this Journal.

however noted the members of it may be, the deceased lady seems to have been one of the best of them. "Kind-hearts are more than coronets." Her life she devoted to doing good in whatever way she could; nor had she any other ambition. Except in connection with founding a Technical School for girls, assisting at a Flower Show, organizing a Bazaar or Concert for some charitable purpose, or promoting the cause of Temperance in a practical and effective fashion, her name was never heard of; and her days were full of such works of grace and thoughtfulness. In her immediate neighbourhood she was most sympathetic with the poor, the aged, and the afflicted, and her presence was as a ray of sunshine entering their homes. As Chairman of the local War Pensions Committee, her latest effort for the benefit of others, the responsible Minister had conveyed to her relatives his regret in her demise, and his high appreciation of her energy, enthusiasm, and tact. When next their arises a cause for the general welfare, especially of the lowly of the community, her presence will be missed. It will be hard, indeed, to find one equally earnest and painstaking, but it will be impossible to discover one more generous, unobtrusive, or unselfish.



THE BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

General Account of Receipt and Expenditure for year ending 31st Dec., 1921.

RECEIPTS.	£	s	d
Balance at Bank on 1st January, 1921 ...	59	10	10
Cash in Deposit at Bank on 1st January, 1921 ...	50	0	0
Life Subscriptions, Entrance Fees and Annual Subscriptions ...	82	12	1
Sale of Journals ...	6	0	0
Stamps on Hand on 1st January, 1921 ...		2	6
Interest on Current Account at Bank ...	1	3	0
Total	£199	8	5

EXPENDITURE.	£	s	d
"Anglo-Celt" Account ...	34	9	5
T. J. Smyth Account ...	2	0	7
Blocks and Postage for Journal ...		14	6
Blocks for Journal ...	2	6	0
Postages ...	1	0	0
Refund to Members who Purchased 1920 Journal ...		18	0
Cash on Deposit at Bank on 31st Dec., 1921 ...	140	0	0
Charge on Current Account ...	1	1	0
Cash and Stamps on Hand ...	1	2	6
Balance at Bank on 31st December, 1921 ...	15	16	5
Total	£199	8	5

Examined and certified correct.

(Signed) **J. P. GANNON.**

9th August, 1922.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

THE BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY'S JOURNAL, 1922.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.
(Let no one have the presumption to express falsehood, or the poltroonery to suppress truth.)

Cicero.

"Dallan, bring with you my blessing fifty times over to the dwellers in Breifne, noble and lowly."

—From St. Mogue's Will (see p. 344).

Le Caitlicna Connradh Cabhan
2406

VOL I. No. III.

CAVAN:
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RIGHT REV. W. R. MOORE, D.D., Bishop of Kilmore, See House, Cavan.

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OFFICERS FOR 1922.

Chairman :

REV. E. D. CROWE, M.A., The Rectory, Cavan.

Vice-Chairman :

REV. M. COMEY, D.D., C.C., The Presbytery, Cavan.

Hon. Treasurer :

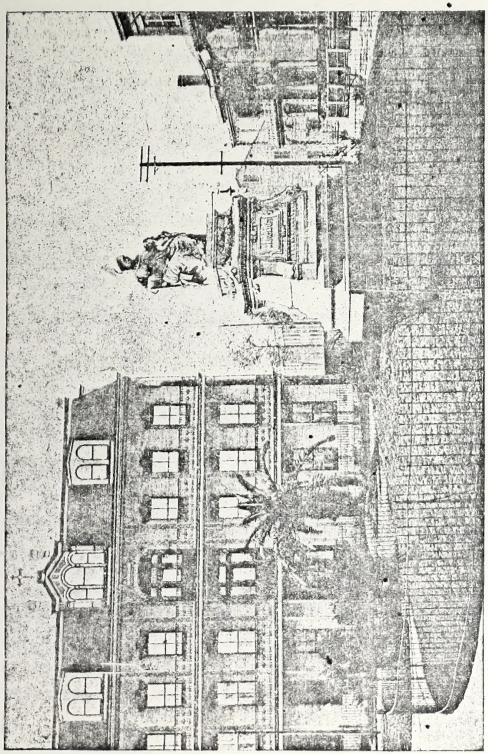
Ulster Bank, Cavan.

Hon. Secretary and Registrar :

William M. Reid, M.B.E., Church Street, Cavan.

Committee :

REV. J. B. MEEHAN.
REV. R. J. WALKER, B.A.
A. E. R. MCCABE.
E. T. O'HANLON.
H. O'REILLY, B.E.
F. P. SMITH, M.D., D.L.
R. V. WALKER, B.A.



Margaret's Monument, New Orleans.

Said to be the First Statue raised to a Woman in America.

See p. 339.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Report of Meetings	237
Killykeen and Clogh Oughter ... ... By William Reid, M.B.E	240
Early Printing in Leitrim ... ... By E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A.	263
Exhibits at Fifth Meeting	268
The Green Lake Alt ... ... By John Smith, C.E.	274
Early Printing in Cavan ... ... By E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A.	279
The Book of the Macgaurans ... ... By Rev. J. B. McGovern.	288
Exhibits at Sixth Meeting	294
The Parish of Lurgan ... ... By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.	295
The "Henry Ireland Pamphlet" Printed in Cavan, 1709 or 1790?	324
Cavan Coins and Tokens...	327
Epitaphs in Dervor Churchyard	328
A 14th Century Rent Strike	331
Old Irish Land Measures	334
Notable Cavan and Leitrim Individuals	336
The Irish Library Presented to the Society	342
Literary Notes	344
Obituary Notice	354
Statement of Accounts, 1922	356
Errata in Nos. I. & II. ...	357
I. Index—Peculiar Words and Phrases	360
II. Index—Place Names Explained.	362
General Index to the Volume	363

REPORT OF MEETINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1922.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Society took place in the Town Hall, Cavan, on 9th March, 1922. The Chairman, Rev. J. B. Meehan, presided, and the others present were :—

Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., Cavan (Vice-Chairman) ; Rev. Dr. Comey, Cavan ; Rev. P. V. Rudden, President St. Patrick's College ; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballinagh ; Mrs. T. R. Blackley, Drumbar House ; Lieut-Col. Story, D.L., Bingfield ; Dr. T. P. Smith, D.L., Kevitt Castle ; Messrs. R. A McCay, W. H. Halpin, Aidan McCabe, W. Reid, P. J. Smith, and B. Whelan, Cavan ; Messrs. P. J. Brady, C.E., Ballyhaise ; Th. O'Reilly, Loughduff ; Peter Martin, Carrigan ; H. O'Reilly, do. ; and R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones.

Letters of apology were received from Rev. W. P. Lowe, M.A., Bailieborough, Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon, Editor *Anglo-Celt*, and Mr. Ph. O'Connell, M.Sc., Clonmel.

Mr. Wm. Reid acted as Secretary.

Regrets were expressed at the death since the last General Meeting of two of the original members of the Society, Miss Martha Lough and The Right Hon. Thomas Lough, P.C., H.M.L., the former of whom passed away at Drom Mullac, Killeshandra, towards the end of 1921, and the latter in London, on 11th January, 1922.

On the motion of Mr. P. J. Brady, C.E., seconded by Mr. Walker, B.A., a resolution was passed expressing regret and tendering sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.

A brief obituary notice of Miss M. Lough appeared in the 1921 Journal, and one of her brother, The Rt. Hon. Thomas Lough, is given in this.

The business of the Annual Meeting, as laid down in the Rules, was gone through.

The Chairman read the Committee's Report on the work during the twelve months just passed. It showed satisfactory progress, and in it tribute was paid to the untiring labour of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Cole, M.A., National School Inspector.

A communication from Mr. Cole was read resigning the secretaryship, owing to transference to the Belfast district. The resignation was regretfully accepted, and the following resolution, proposed by Rev. J. B. Meehan, and seconded by Lieut.-Col. Story, was unanimously adopted:—

"The Breifny Antiquarian Society desires to express its recognition of the great loss it sustains in the unavoidable retirement of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. J. A. Cole, M.A.

"The Members also wish to put on record their gratefulness for all he has done for the Society from the very beginning. He it was that took up energetically a suggestion that had been several times mooted before, and urged the formation of such a local Society for Kilmore. He bestowed immense trouble in bringing it into being and giving it a fair start.

"Since its establishment, two years ago, he has laboured earnestly and most efficiently for its progress. Any future measure of success to which it may happen to attain will be largely due to his thoughtful and unobtrusive guidance both in laying down its course, and in conducting it through the first and, we believe, the most difficult years of its work.

"Personally he was highly esteemed by every individual Member. We are extremely sorry for his departure from amongst us, and we wish him every blessing in his new sphere of duties."

The accounts of the Society were laid before the Meeting. As audited they will be found at page 229 of the Journal.

Mr. J. P. Gannon was unanimously renamed auditor for 1922.

The presiding Chairman retired in accordance with Rule 15c.

Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., was, by an unanimous vote, appointed to the office.

Rev. Dr. Comey was elected Vice-Chairman, Mr. W. Reid, Secretary, and on the motion of Mr. Halpin, seconded by Mr. McCabe, the old Committee were re-elected with the addition of Dr. Smith and Mr. Walker to fill vacancies. The resulting list of the officers for 1922 is given on page 233.

There was a discussion on the advisability of printing a larger number of Journals and reducing the price, the price at present being about exactly what it costs the Society. Some suggestions were also made as to the Annual Excursion.

The following new Members were elected:—

LIFE MEMBERS:

Right Rev. Monsignor Richard Brady, Loretto Heights Academy, Colorado;
Rev. Francis J. Brady, Calhan, Colorado;
Very Rev. James J. Flood, Chicago, Illinois; and
Right Rev. Francis Gilfillan, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.

MEMBERS:

E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A., Dublin;
Rev. P. J. Manly, Rathowen-Edward, Westmeath;
Dr. Raymund Magauran, Cavan;
Rev. J. B. McGovern, Manchester;
P. T. McGovern, St. Louis, Mo., and
Miss B. E. Smith, Castletara.

FIFTH GENERAL MEETING.

On the conclusion of the business of the Annual Meeting a General Meeting was held. The Rev. E. D. Crowe, Chairman, presided, and the same persons were present. Two papers were read and discussed. They will be found in the succeeding pages. A number of exhibits were shown. Their description is printed after the papers.

SIXTH GENERAL MEETING.

The Meeting was held in the usual place on the 26th October, 1922. Rev. Dr. Comey, C.C., Vice-Chairman, presided. The same members as on the last occasion were present, together with Mrs. Smith and Miss Smith, Kevitt Castle; Mr. W. J. O'Callaghan, Cavan, and a few visitors.

Letters of apology were read from Rev. E. D. Crowe, M.A., Chairman of the Society, Very Rev. M. J. Flynn, Liverpool, and Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon, Cavan.

The following were elected to the Society:—Mrs. T. Lough, Drom Mullac, Killeshandra (Honorary), and Very Rev. H. P. Smith, Evanston, Illinois, Life Members; Very Rev. P. O'Reilly, P.P., V.F., Derrylin; Messrs. Pádraic Colum, Dublin, and Peter Cooney, Manorhamilton, Members.

The Rev. Chairman mentioned the presentation to the Society for the use of the members of a valuable Irish Library and collection of antiquarian objects by Mrs. Lough, Killeshandra, wife of the late Rt. Hon. Thomas Lough. These, the Committee, on behalf of the Society, had gratefully accepted. A list of the books will be found in the last pages of this number of the Journal. With a view to their housing and the commencement of a Museum, he also referred to his interview, as one of a deputation from the Committee, with the Technical Instruction Committee for Co. Cavan as to the use of a room in the Technical School. The application was favourably received, and referred to the local Sub-Committee for arrangement.

The papers read will be found in later pages, and a description of the exhibits follows them. On each of the papers there was an animated discussion.

KILLYKEEN AND CLOGH OUGHTER.

By William Reid.*

[Read 9th March, 1922.]

Killykeen is within half-a-dozen miles of the town of Cavan. Not many places in the county can vie with it either in scenic beauty or in richness of historic associations.

Killykeen—Coill chaoin, the "Beautiful Wood"—lies in the valley of the River Erne, and forms portion of the second of the four steps the river takes in its descent to the sea. After flowing into Lough Oughter (the upper lake), above Trinity Island, the river forms a series of expansions before again contracting, on the north side of Innishmore Island, into a river in the true sense. This wonderful labyrinth of winding lakes, separated by mounds and banks of clay, is probably due to the irregular distribution of boulder clay and gravel accumulated by the great ice stream which moved northwards along the valley of the Erne from the central snowfield. Another theory is that the lakes are mainly due to the solubility of limestone in presence of water containing carbonic acid gas. These lakes have been described as "if regular hollows dissolved out of the limestone floor and filled with water."* Many water-worn stones are to be seen along the shores of bays and islands in the district. But whether formed by the savage strength of the slowly-moving icefield or gradually by the imperceptible, but persistent, action of water, we have in our midst one of the most charming spots to be found in the great central plain of Ireland.

From earliest times rivers formed the great highways for the slow movements of primitive man—invaders cautiously felt their way along them into the interior of the country. It requires no great flight of imagination to picture what the Erne Valley must have been even at a comparatively late date in the world's history—lake, swamp, bog, and impenetrable forest, rivers choked with fallen trees, stagnant pools: the country was almost impassable. Many ages had passed since, according to the more generally accepted theory, the ice so inconveniently removed our coal fields into the Atlantic. Nature had been silently at work gradually getting the country fit for man—who was to come. Through the tangled wood and shaking quagmires roamed

* Hughes: *Geol, Notes of Ireland*, 4th ed.. 1882.

the wolf and the Irish elk, and at last came man, silently, fearfully, and, as it were, step by step—all nature against him—waging war with strange roughly-hewn stone weapons, but ever advancing, ever conquering—slaying and being slain—shaggy, wild, uncouth. Wave after wave of invaders came moving across Europe, always moving westwards, one tribe overwhelming another, and ever with more deadly weapons, stone, bronze, iron. Man had to protect himself in the Erne Valley as he had in the Swiss lakes. Noting and taking advantage of the shallowness of the lakes, early man formed the plan of living in comparative safety by constructing, on half-submerged islands and shallows, strongholds called crannoges, or crannogs. (Celtic, crann, a tree.) The Celtic name is used universally owing to the fact that it was in this country the crannoge was first discovered, or rather first recognised for what it is. This happened in 1839, not quite a century ago. It is of special interest to us to know that one of the first of them thoroughly explored was at Tonymore, within a mile of us. Exactly sixty years ago this was done by our townsman, Dr. Malcolmson. His minute description of Tonymore (or Cloneygonnell) crannoge, fully illustrated, together with a list of the objects of interest discovered in it are contained in the *Proceedings R.I.A.*, Vol. VIII. They may be found also in Wood-Martin's *Lake Dwellings of Ireland*,* pp. 197-9. Dr. Malcomson's careful labours formed a model for subsequent investigators.

That such artificial islands were inhabited even in prehistoric times admits of no doubt. Quantities of ancient pottery have been come upon in excavating them; numerous implements of flint, stone, bone, and bronze are constantly found in the crannoges themselves, or are fished up from the lake bottom around their margin. That, too, they were not mere places of temporary refuge but permanent dwellings is not open to question: the kitchen-middens or refuse heaps prove it. Cavan has such a number of small lakes eminently adapted for their construction that crannoges are particularly abundant in the county. Indeed, a well-known antiquary, the late Mr. Seaton F. Milligan, declared that O'Reilly's country "might be appropriately called the crannoge country."† Occasionally, it is believed, it was the lake and not the islet that was artificial.

* It is of interest to note that the typical crannoge described and illustrated in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, 1874 ed., is that in Drumaleague lake near Keshcarrigan in S. Leitrim. Wood Martin's work reproduces the drawing and description.

† Journal of *R. Hist and Arch. Association of Ireland*, 1885, p. 148.

Wood-Martin (op. cit., p. 250) gives a Map of Ireland "shewing approximate distribution of all known lacustrine sites." Cavan has 21, Leitrim 24, Fermanagh 39, and these are the highest. But it is to be recollected that the eminent antiquary Mr Wakeman resided in Enniskillen and left little of County Fermanagh unexplored.

These lake dwellings are often composed of layers of logs and brushwood piled on the shallows and consolidated with gravel and stones. In rare instances the body of the work is entirely composed of stones. A very fine specimen of the latter is to be found at the western end of the expansion between Eonish Island and Gortinanowl. (Gort n-an abhall, the "field of the apples.") Thousands of tons of stones were used in its construction, and, so far as one can judge, it has never been interfered with. Not so with the piles around it. The gentleman just mentioned, who visited Killykeen in 1885, saw a ring of stakes, but some of them were pulled up and lay drying on the surface previous to their removal. The superstitious feeling which shielded rath and dolmen never extended to the crannoge—possibly because it was unrecognised until so recently for what it is. This crannoge can be seen from a distance as it is crowned with a clump of trees. They are all of recent growth, forty years ago none of them were there. The stones composing it are loosely thrown together, but there is an accumulation of gravel and of decayed vegetable matter on the top which may have formed the binding or floor of the dwelling house.

Killykeen Cottage, a beautiful structure in rustic work, was put up on the shore of the lake about 1885 by the late Lady Farnham. Another crannoge is passed on the sail from it to Clogh Oughter Castle. As it lies in the fairway and is more exposed than the one just mentioned it is rather badly knocked about; yet forty years ago it was almost perfect. The Belfast visitor of 1885, already quoted from, writes of it:—

> Starting at Killykeen, we sailed for a few hundred yards to one of the most perfect crannogs I had ever seen; it stands boldly up from the lake, with its concentric rows of stakes placed round it at equal distances, as perfect as if it had been constructed yesterday. There appeared to be firm strand around it, but one of our party who attempted to leap out found himself up to the waste in the treacherous soil, from which we had some difficulty in extricating him. We did not attempt further to land, but pulled round the crannog admiring its regular rows of stakes and its beautifully wooded surface. (Loc. cit. p. 151.)

The rows of stakes are no longer there to be admired. But they are not all gone. At low water the remains of a few sticking in the mud bottom are still clearly visible. Very often piles driven down through from 6 or 8 to 14 ft. of water, and joined together by horizontal beams, formed the framework of a crannoge. But outside stockades, such as these, would serve as a breakwater. That they were here needed is shown by the injury to the island in the short interval since their removal. They were useful besides as a defence. As in similar instances the stakes had originally risen several feet above the water, and it may be supposed that they were interlaced with stout branches placed horizontally, so forming a screen or breastwork. In the *Ulster Inquisitions* of 1605 Stockaded Islands—a term found in Irish Records—are constantly designated *insulæ fortificatæ*. The Tonymore crannoge was surrounded, and we may assume protected, by two concentric stockades 15 ft. apart.

O'Reilly's may be rightly called the crannoge country, but in the vicinity of Killykeen, Cavan's Lake District, they are probably more numerous than anywhere else in Breifny. A fine one lies on the right as you sail through "The Fox Hole" on the way towards Killeshandra, another is built in Trinity lake. In Drumlane lake quite close to the Abbey ruins is one about 100 feet in diameter; another somewhat smaller is at the opposite side of the water. Derrabrick townland, once an island itself, but since the lowering of the Erne about 1859 a peninsula, rises up between Drumlane lake and Tully lake. The latter contains three crannoges. Two of them lie closely together. They were reached by a causeway of stones 6 ft. wide. About 16 ft. from one of them the causeway stops. When the island was inhabited this chasm could be bridged at will by removable logs. The more distant crannoge was approached by a similar structure which ran beneath the surface of the water. Not this alone, but two breaks, one in the very centre of the lake the other near the island itself, made it impossible for an enemy to use it. An island in Lough Ramor beside Virginia is protected, I am informed, in a further ingenious fashion. Besides not being quite as high as the summer level of the water and having several gaps, its causeway runs zig-zag. It may be supposed that certain marked features of the surrounding shore or landscape supplied the key and indicated to the initiated the spots at which to turn.

The crannoge is a type of stronghold peculiar to Celtic countries. It reached its highest development in early historic times, and survived through the Middle Ages. In Ireland Sir W. Wilde limited their range to the period between the 9th and 16th c.* But long ago his restriction broke down at both ends. It has been demonstrated that many of them are prehistoric; not improbably, as I have already suggested (see second page of this essay), a few of them date as far back as the time of the earliest settlers who made their way from the coasts inland. On the other hand, they are of many ages, and they were in use even as late as the 17th c. Fortified islands, not castles, were the favouraite strongholds of the Irish and many of the islands were, it is now recognised, wholly artificial. The Rev. Mr. Walker, one of our members, informed us of one in Garadice lake which was a fortress of Myles the Slasher. Parts of its loop-holed strong surrounding walls, a comparatively modern substitute for stockades, are still there. As late as 1653 Sir Phelim O'Neill was captured on a fortified island.

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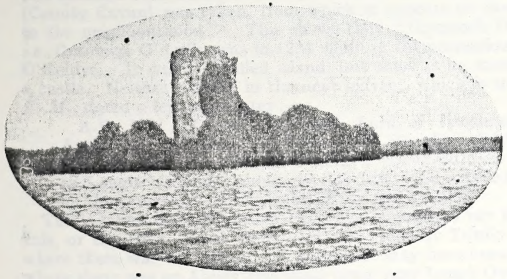
* *Encycl. Brittanica.*

CLOGH OUGHTER CASTLE.

Cavan may be the crannoge county, and Killykeen, its Lake District, may be the richest in crannoges, but that Clogh Oughter is historically the most important crannoge in this Lake District, or indeed in all the many expansions of the Erne, is a certainty. When the island was first constructed cannot even be conjectured, but it figures in history from the tenth till towards the latter half of the seventeenth century.

As it stands at present it is oval-shaped, 190 ft. from north to south and 140 ft. from east to west. Its highest point is about 10 ft. above the summer level of the lake. That it is a genuine crannoge, that is partially or wholly of artificial formation in which timber was liberally used, admits of no reasonable doubt. When the water is low its character is manifest. Mr. Kirker, C.E., the county Hon. Sec. of the R.S.A.I., examined it most carefully. From him I have taken the above and later dimensions.* He testifies that on approaching it from the south or south-west, when the water is at the summer level, it is seen to be constructed of loose stones covered with brushwood and small beams or trees 9 to 14 ins. in diameter. At that time (1890) stakes or piles, from 4 to 6 ins. in diameter, were visible all around its margin. I have sailed round it in recent years scores of times, but could never see the piles. But then, piles are useful and 30 years bring changes, especially when there is no protection.



Clogh Oughter Castle.

The Castle itself stands in the centre of the island. It is circular in shape and, as the illustration shows, it looks like a low Round Tower. It is about 55 ft. high. This is higher, indeed, by 15 ft.

* Journal R.S.A.I., 1890, pp. 294-297

than what remains of Drumlane, but lower than Devenish by 21 ft.; and the latter is of medium height for a Round Tower.* But its breadth is many times greater than Round Towers. Their average internal diameter is from 7 to 9 ft.* Drumlane is 10½ but it is exceptional; whereas Clogh Oughter Castle is 35 ft. The thickness of the outer wall, measured at about a man's height, is also double that of a Round Tower; the Castle's being 7 ft., Round Towers averaging 3½ to 4—Drumlane is 3¼. Round Towers, besides, diminish in depth towards the top. Not so this. It is uniform throughout.

The apertures for the joists show that it was divided into four stories. The height of the two first stories can be easily measured, the floors were 10½ ft. apart. The distance between the 3rd and 4th floor and between the latter and the roof appear to have been the same. The roof was probably flat and it was surrounded by a battlement 6 ft. high and 2½ ft. broad. The principal entrance was on the north, and, like most Round Towers, was 15 ft. above the ground. An opening in the parapet right above it and some stones standing out from the wall at intervals below the opening suggest a corbelled prejection for the protection of the entrance. Such a projection with its slit is a common feature in old castles. It may be seen at Carrickfergus, for instance. Through the slit molten lead could be poured down on the heads of too venturesome assailants. However, the projection might have been intended for suspending a portcullis. This could have been lowered to protect the door, and raised above it when not wanted.

No internal walls exist, nor are there traces of any except in what may be called the basement. Here there are remains of a wall running through the centre of the building, and on one side at least of this there appears to have been a compartment. A large section of the tower proper (amounting to about one-fourth) has fallen. As the solid masonry has been thrown outwards, the destruction is clearly not the work of decay. Everything points to the fact that the building was mined at the side nearest the land for the evident purpose of rendering the fortress indefensible. The tower, or what of it remains standing, is of rubble work. The building stones are rough. The island itself must have been considerably enlarged by the fallen masonry, as in the middle of the 17th century it seems to have been possible to bring a boat right up to the walls. The lake at that time was much higher, especially in winter, as modern drainage works have lowered the level of the water considerably.

WHEN ERECTED?

In Irish Records Lough Oughter Castle is designated Cloch Locha hUachtair, *i.e.*, The Rock of the Upper Lake. The name

* Cf. *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Marg. Stokes, London, 1887. Part II., p. 51.

justifies a suspicion that the islet was founded around a great rock (cloch), perhaps a rock projecting above the water. When, or by whom, the castle was built, or the earliest one built, it is impossible to state positively. Almost 1,000 years ago the lake itself was invaded, as appears from the *A. of U.* It states :—

> 954—An expedition by Donnall, son of Muirchertach, with ships [probably light cots capable of being transported on men's shoulders] from Tuagh Inbher [the estuary of the Bann] upon Loch-nEchach [Neagh], on the Dabhall [the northern Blackwater], across the Airghialla [Oriel, *i.e.*, across Monaghan and Fermanagh] upon Loch-Erne, afterwards [by their boats ?] on Loch-Uachtair [Lough Oughter], when he devastated the Breifne, and took O'Ruairc's pledges.

But there is here no mention of either a castle or of a fortified island. There is no further reference to the Lough by any of the Annalists, as far as I can find out, for almost 300 years. But at last under 1220 in the *Annals of Lough Cé* the crannoge figures. The entry is as follows :—

> 1220.—Walter de Laci came to Erinn, and performed a great hosting to the crannog of O'Raighilligh.*

A note, appended to this by Hennessy, tells us that this crannoge "appears to be situated in Lough Oughter, County Cavan, where the old castle of Cloch-Uachtair . . . now stands. In a letter from Guy de Chatillon to Henry III., dated July, 1224, Grennoch Oraely (as the name is therein written) is stated to have been captured from William de Lacy by Oraely, Walter de Riddelsford, and Richard Tuit, on the same day on which the castle of Kilmore (County Cavan) was taken, from which it appears to have been in the neighbourhood."* This shows that "Grennoch Oraely," *i.e.*, Crannoge O'Reilly, was in 1234 again in the possession of the O'Reillys. It was a fortified island, but there is no mention of a castle. Neither is there in the next extract, which is from the *F. M.*, dated a few years later :—

> A.D. 1231.—Donall O'Donnell, Lord of Tirconnell, and Angus Mac Gillefinen, of Fermanagh, marched their forces into the territory of Cathal O'Reilly ; conveyed their vessels to Lough Uachtair, plundered Eo Inis, and carried away all the provisions and treasure of the entire town.

This is copied from Connellan's ed. The annotators say that Eo Inis, or the Holy Island, plundered was probably Trinity Island where there was an Abbey ; "or perhaps it may have been Urney, where there was an Abbey and small town, near Lough Oughter." But Trinity Abbey was not founded till at least 1237, six years later, and this is the date the *F. M.* themselves give. Besides Eo Inis is still Eo-Innis, and is quite a different island from Trinity. As to Urney, it is about five miles from Clogh Oughter and is unknown as an Abbey to either Archdall or Alemand, our

* Requoted from Wood-Martin, Op. cit., p. 155.

best authorities. Nothing is here said either in the text or by the annotators about "Crannoge O'Reilly". It is unlikely that it was not attacked, and, if taken, spared. Possibly, it was so well fortified that to the plunderers it was sour grapes and they passed it by. Under the some year the *Annals of Kilronan* have a similar entry.

In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under 1241 and 1261, and in the *Annals of Boyle*, under 1248 (D'Alton), or 1251 (O'Curry *MSS. Materials*, p. 108) Lough Oughter is again mentioned, but solely in connection with the founding of Trinity Abbey and the death of its founder, Clarus O'Mulconry—Clarus MacMailin he is called by the *F. M.*—Archdeacon of Elphin.

The lake was soon again invaded.

> A.D. 1272.—O'Donnell (Donal Oge) collected his vessels and boats on Lough Erne, with which he proceeded to Loch Uachtar, and seized on the property of the adjoining places (namely, on the islands of the lake), which he carried away, plundered the people, and reduced them in all the neighbouring parts under his sway and subjection.—*F. M.*, C's. ed.

The Latin MS. of the *A. of U.*, preserved in the British Museum, gives the same particulars, but ascribes them to 1275.* But it, too, has nothing to say about a castle.

Half a century later the castle is mentioned for the first time. In the *F. M.* we find :—

> A.D. 1327.—A war broke out between the O'Rourkes and the O'Reillys, and the *castle* of Lough Uachtar was burned by Cathal O'Rourke, who abandoned it for a ransom of cattle.—C's. ed.

O'D.'s version also translates it castle, and has it that the ransom was 20 cows.

Mr. Kirker (l.c.) finds it stated in the Pedigree of Count O'Reilly that "The Castle of Loch Uachtair was erected by the Red Earl." This was Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who died at Lough Laeghaire, County Tyrone in 1323 (*F. M.*) or 1326 (*A. of U.*) Presuming that this was not a re-erection, should the Pedigree reference hold good then it could not have been long up when Cathal O'Rourke took it and burned it. At all events, it is plain it was there in 1327.

In tracing its history we have now three fairly firm spots on which to place our feet : the lake was of note as far back as 954, the crannoge—Crannoge O'Reilly—was there in 1220, and the castle—Loch Uachtair Castle—was there in 1327. It is, therefore, at least 600 years old.

But there are grounds for holding that it is centuries still older.

First, both in appearance and construction it bears a close resemblance to fortresses that are known to belong to the 11th and 12th centuries. The Hag's Castle in Lough Mask, for instance,

* See *A. of U.*, Vol. II., p. 350, n. 3.

is also a low (30 ft.) cylindrical tower; its walls are somewhat deeper (8 ft. at top) and it, too, is built on what is partially or wholly an artificial island. This stone-and-mortar castle is, according to Joyce,* one of the earliest erected in Ireland before the Norman invasion. It is noticed in the Irish Annals at the year 1195.† The Cavan castle has also its counterpart both in Reginald's Tower in Waterford, which was built in 1003 by Reginald the Dane,‡ and in the keep of Dundrum Castle, Co. Down, which was erected by John de Courcy in 1177 (*F. M.*) O'Donovan visited Clogh Oughter Castle in May, 1836, and was struck by its resemblance to both the last mentioned as well as to the Tower of Hook in Wexford.§

Then it is so like the Round Towers, differing from them almost solely in the greater depth of its walls and the greater diameter of its interior, that it suggests the same builders. Now, a good authority, Miss Stokes, assigns from 1170 till 1238 as the last period for the erection of Round Towers.‖ It would not be unreasonable to claim for our castle an antiquity equal to some of the latest of them.

Lastly in his *Essay on Antient Irish Military Architecture* Petrie is quite positive that this is one of the round castles which the Irish had built before the arrival amongst them of the Anglo-Normans. This great antiquary is occasionally rather inclined to ante-date, still no better authority can be adduced. In his careful study of the question Mr. Kirker (from whom I quote Petrie's opinion) after rejecting many impossible dates eventually arrives at the conclusion that "the most probable supposition is that it was built in the 11th century by one of the O'Reillys."°

More safely shielded by Petrie's great name it could be said that it belongs to not later than the 12th century. This would assign to the structure the venerable age of 800 years.

THE CASTLE'S HISTORIC IMPORTANCE.

Whether we hesitate to attribute to Clogh Oughter Castle this hoary age or not, whether we regard it as 800 or merely 600 years old, there can be no doubt but for centuries it was the main O'Reilly stronghold. Just as the castle in Lough Mask was the great fortress of the Western province so was the castle in Lough

* *Soc. Hist.*, II, 67.

† The *F. M.* say it was "destroyed," the *A. of U.* that it was "razed." and the *A. of Cl.* that it was "fallen down," by Felim O'Connor in 1233, But in 1586 it was again there "the stronghold of the Province of Connaught" (*F. M.*) Sir R. Bingham in that year "destroyed" it, yet its ruins are still there. That they are the ruins of the 1195 building is, I confess, not clear.

‡ Petrie ("P.") in *D. Penny Journal*, 1832, p. 189.

§ Duffy's *Hib. Magazine*, Jan. 1861, p. 38,n. The island "is said to have been formed," he states "by dropping stones into the lake."

‖ *Early Chr. Art in Ireland*, Part II., p. 62.

° Loc. cit.

Oughter the great fortress of East Breifny Down to the middle of the 17th century it figures prominently in its history This a few further extracts from our most reliable sources of information will establish.

In 1327, as we have seen above, the castle was taken by the O'Rorkes, but given back again for twenty cows Soon again it fell into their hands. O'Rorke placed his warders in it, MacKiernan and MacGauran assisting them. Fergal O'Reilly re-captured it by a wily stratagem. He marched against it but kept his men *perdus* on the shores around it until some of the underlings came out on the mainland to cut firewood These he slew and stripped. Disguising his soldiers in the dresses taken from the dead underlings (habits of skin) they entered the castle and slew the garrison before they had time to seize their arms "By this manœuvre," continues the *O'Reilly Pedigree*, "Fergal obtained the best territory in Breifny, namely, the tract extending from Lough Oughter to Mullagh."*

The MS. gives no clue as to the date Most likely both the re-taking of Clogh Oughter by O'Rorke and the recovery of it by Fergal O'Reilly occurred after 1327 and the transaction about 20 cows. The extract plainly shows that the fortress was regarded as the key of the country.

THE BATTLE OF BLENACUP, JULY 11TH, 1369.

East Breifny was a little kingdom in itself—in the *Annals of Ulster* its chieftains are termed kings. The year 1369 was for it a year of revolutions, and Clogh Oughter Castle figures in the centre of events, in its own way something like the Tower of London in the time of Prince John or the Bastile during the reign of Louis XIV.

On his brother, Connor, resigning in 1365 to become a Friar, Philip O'Reilly succeeded to the kingship.† Four years later, *i.e.*, in 1369, he was deposed and thrown with ignominy into Clogh Oughter prison. Whereupon the loyalist O'Reillys gathered an army, and aided by the MacMahons of Oriel they marched to Lough Oughter to release him. The new king or chieftain O'Reilly, Manus, on his part summoned his followers "to defend their country"; which, if not strictly true, was a good war-cry. He placed his forces across Blenacup hill between two lakes to stop the invaders. The combatants met there and Manus was utterly defeated.

Though the prisoner in Clogh Oughter may have witnessed the fight from the top stories of the castle, so near was it, the victory

* For a literal translation of the passage from the MS. in T.C.D., by Mr. O'Connell, see this Journal, pp. 119 and 120. Compare also Kirker's article p. 296., *loc. cit.*

† This Journal, p. 121.

of his loyal friends did not bring about his release. The castle was a strong fortress out in the water and remained uncaptured. Soon later in the year his son-in-law and ally, Maguire, "king of Fermanagh, along with the young sons of kings [of Fermanagh]" —*A of U.*—came with a fleet of boats, took "the Rock of the Loch," and set free the captive chieftain. Next year, 1370, the tables were completely turned on the usurper. Manus was caught and in his turn forthwith sent to the self-same prison to which he had committed Philip, Clogh Oughter. His subsequent fate is not known.

As it is more satisfactory to read about these big events in the authoritative records, I accordingly now proceed to give the extracts from the Annalists :—

> A.D. 1369.—Philip O'Reilly was taken prisoner by his own kinsmen, and was sent to be imprisoned in the castle of Lough Uachtar, closely bound and fettered.
>
> Manus O'Reilly assumed the lordship then [the *A. of U.* say the kingship] and a war and commotion arose in Brefny, on account of that imprisonment; Annadh, the son of Richard O'Reilly, collected a great force, and Mac Mahon and the chiefs of Orgiall (Monaghan), came to assist him to compel Manus to release Philip O'Reilly; Manus and his kinsmen with all their forces united together to defend their own country, and a battle ensued in which, however, Manus was defeated at BLEN CHUPA; and the three sons of Cormac O'Ferrall, namely, Seoinin, Malachy, and Fergus; Felim, son of Hugh Anchleitigh (of the plume), O'Connor; the two sons of Flaherty More Mac Conruba, namely, Donogh and Brien; Sitrick-na-srona Masterson, and many others, were slain in that engagement.—*F. M.*, C.'s ed.

The account in the *A. of U.* is substantially the same, but it gives a few more particulars. The battle it calls "the Defeat of the Strand at the Island of the Trinity." It was fought "twenty nights before Lammas" (1st August), *i.e.*, on July 11th, 1369. The O'Connor who fell was son of Aedh of the Quill, "a son of a king without lack of nobleness or generosity." Flaherty's son who was also among the slain—it mentions only one, Donn Mac Canrubha—it lauds as "the unique youth of the Fifth of Connacht in joyance and in brilliant prowess and in noble hospitality." Of Sitric Masterson "of the nose" whom like the *F. M.* it mentions last, it informs us that he "kept a general guest-house."

The editor of the last three volumes of the *A. of U.*, MacCarthy, in a note to this entry maintains it as more probable that Manus's disastrous defeat took place, not at "Blencup," four miles west of Cavan town, but opposite Trinity Island in Lough Cé, County Roscommon. There can hardly be any doubt but he is mistaken. For first, the *A. of Lough Cé* as well as the *F. M.* give Blen Chupa.

I am unable to say if there be a townland of that name also opposite the Trinity Island of Roscommon. (Cf. this Journal, p. 192). If not, it would be decisive against MacCarthy's opinion. But the annotators to the *F. M.* (C.'s ed.) expressly state that the battle was fought in "Blencup in the parish of Kilmore, County of Cavan." Secondly, MacMahon and the rest of them were on their way to release Philip from Clogh Oughter, and at Blenacup they had reached within a mile or two of it. Manus was across their path "to defend his own country"—certainly not Roscommon. Lastly, the high hill of Blenacup, with its level top some hundreds of yards wide, rising precipitately from Lough Ahain on the one side, and on the other sloping down to the *strand* of Lough Oughter under Killnawallah hill and *opposite* Trinity Island, was an ideal position for Manus's defending force. It fully satisfies, moreover, all the notes of location given by the Annalists. O'Donovan unhesitatingly declares for it.

But though Manus was routed and fled, the "Rock of the Loch" was not captured nor was its prisoner released. Accordingly, later in the same year :—

> 1369.—Philip MacGuire, lord of Fermanagh, sailed with a fleet, on Lough Oughter . . . . and having taken the castle of Cloch Oughter, liberated Philip O'Reilly, lord of Brefney, who re-assumed his lordship.—*F. M.* (C.'s ed.) So too the *A. of U.*

Knowing the Erne we can see that "the king of Fir-Manach" (*A. of U.*) had no difficulty in sailing up from Enniskillen. His wife Ducola, daughter of Philip O'Reilly, whom he restored to "his kingship" (*A. of U.*) died the next year, 1370. Before the year was out the usurper Manus, who had imprisoned Philip, became himself a prisoner and in the same prison. He was captured by the sons of Thomas O'Reilly. They delivered him up to Philip who promptly clapped him into the Castle or Rock of Lough Oughter. (*F. M.* and *A. of U.*)

CLOGH OUGHTER IN THE GREAT WAR OF 1390.

Twenty years later Clogh Oughter again appears as a prison. To appreciate the entry better it may be premised that the O'Rorkes were overlords of all Breifny, East and West, but for some hundreds of years the O'Reillys were independent of them.* Naturally, there was no love lost between them. The antagonism was intensified in 1380. The O'Rorkes and their neighbours, the O'Connors of Sligo, were, since the bitter war between them of 1340, renewed in 1370, on much the same terms

* "O'Rourke was lord of all the county of Leitrim, which was called West Breifne; and of the now County of Cavan, called East Breifne; but for some centuries O'Reilly, lord of the Eastern Breifne, was independent of O'Rourke." *Leabhar na g-Ceart or Book of Rights.* Dublin, 1847, p. 251, note by O'Donovan.

as the French and the Germans of the present day. In 1380 the O'Connors "again attempted to expel the O'Rourkes and obtain the lordship of Breifny (Leitrim) for themselves." (*A. of U.* note, sub. 1390.) Philip O'Reilly, who had been deposed, imprisoned, set free and reinstated in 1369—he died in 1384—joined the O'Connors. The allies invaded West Breifny. But they were signally defeated by O'Rorke and forced to retire, and "horses and men were destroyed around them on that expedition." (*A. of U.*) It becomes, accordingly, plain why Manus O'Rorke on his escape from Clogh Oughter was pursued and killed by the O'Connors, as mentioned below.

> A.D. 1390.—Great war this year between Tigernan Ua Ruairc [Tiernan O'Rorke], namely, king of Breifni, and Thomas, son of Mathgamain Ua Raighillaigh [Thomas McMahon O'Reilly], namely, king of Muinter—Mailmordha [Breifny O'Reilly]. And Maghnus Ua Ruairc was at that time in custody with Ua Raghallaigh in the Rock of Loch-Uachtair. The Rock was pierced through and he escaped thereout and went to the castle of Loch-in-scuir and the clan of Muircertaigh Ua Concobuir [Murtagh O'Connor] followed him and he was killed by them in leaving the Loch.—*A. of U.*

Both the *F. M.* and the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* also tell of the war and the escape under the same year. Both, moreover, state that Manus was betrayed to the O'Connors and that he was slain as he was leaving the boat (*F. M.*) or Coytt (*A. of Cl.*); the latter authority shows, besides, that he had reached Lough Scur. This lake is near the village of Keshcarrigan in S. Leitrim and about twenty miles almost due west of Logh Oughter. On it was a MacRannall castle famous also for its donjon. The MacRannalls (Reynolds) were sub-chiefs of O'Rorke, but Manus was killed just as he was on the point of getting under their protection. The narrative makes it more probable that he bored his way out himself—a great achievement as the walls were 7ft. thick and while working he had to avoid detection. Dundrum keep, almost a duplicate of Clogh Oughter and perfect yet, has its basement storey cut out of the solid rock, and its walls are a foot. thicker.* In Dundrum the feat would have been an impossibility.

The Tiernan O'Rorke mentioned above seems to have been almost as great a warrior and diplomat as his more famous ancestor and namesake Tiernan the One-eyed, husband of Devorgilla. In the great war of 1390, as the Annalists term it, he was faced by the old combination of the O'Reillys and O'Connors in which, besides, a third ally had rebelliously joined in, the Mac Ternans, chiefs of Tullyhunco. So he concluded "a firm peace" with the O'Reillys and loaded them with presents. But the two others "proceeded to take by force" certain portions of Leitrim

* *Ulster*, edited by Fletcher, F.C.S., etc.—Cambridge, 1921, p. 134.

(*F. M.*). Tiernan was in Glangevlin * when he heard of the invasion of his territory. Forthwith, "he marched his light forces" to meet them, "attacked and defeated them, and continued pursuing and slaying them and their people from Beal-Atha-Derry-Dubhain, as far as the Hills of Breifney." (*F. M.*) The site of the battle is unknown and these places cannot now be identified. The *A. of U.* have it that he pursued them to Slieve Carbry, which is Longford; and the *A. of U.* that he "held on his course of killing them from Belagh Derg to the top of the place called Tullagh Brefnagh." These names are also obsolete and unidentifiable. Anyway, it is plain it was a total rout, and equally plain that Tiernan did not neglect to follow up his victory. In the next year (1391), in an ambush, he showed his personal bravery. Thomas McMahon O'Reilly had died in the previous harvest, but "o'Roirck & o'Relly continued in theire atonement of peace. o'Roirck with a few of his houshold menye repayred to the towne of Drumleahan [Drumlane] to meet [in a friendly way] with o'Relly, was Intercepted by 65" of the Clan O'Connor (*A. of Cl.*), in his passage. Tiernan faced and routed them slaying the leaders of the ambuscade with his own hand.

CLOGH OUGHTER IN 1487.

The year 1487 was brimful of events. On February 24th there was a great wind which unroofed houses and churches and destroyed trees and gardens. The summer following was like a "Winter of inclemency"; and with the constant rains the crops were ruined throughout the country. Teige Maguire, Vicar of Killesher, and Dennis MacGillcoisgly, Vicar of Derrybrusk, also in Fermanagh, both died; and so did, on 1st September, Torlogh O'Reilly "of a sudden fit in his own castle" of "Tully-mongan over the town of Cavan." Wars raged in Leitrim, Cavan, and Roscommon, as well as in many other districts with which we are not concerned. But perhaps the most notable thing about this *annus mirabilis* is that it first witnessed the use of firearms in Ireland. Breifny has the doubtful honour of being the soil on which their first victim fell, and the victim was an O'Rorke—Bryan O'Rorke. Bryan O'Rorke, son of Cathal, son of Tiernan, was defending Castle Car. This was a well-known O'Rorke fortress whose ruins may still be seen in the parish of Kilasnet, County Leitrim, near Lurganboy. Bryan was struck down and killed "with shot of gun" according to the *A of U.*, or, as the *F. M.* word it, "by the shot of a ball," by Geoffrey O'Donnell; and the castle was taken. This is the earliest record of the use

* *F. M.* The *A. of Cl.* says in ffye Gaiule; but their editor, Dr. Murphy, S.J., identifies ffye Gaiule with Glangevlin in Tullyhaw. As the place was uninhabited till about 200 years ago it is not unlikely that he was there on a hunting expedition. Both Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco formed part of West Breifny, and Tiernan was on his own territory.

of fire-arms in this country. That Geoffrey (or Godfrey's) father was styled Aedh the Foreign, suggests the arms were imported.

A note, based on apparent authority and appended to this entry in the same *F. M.* (C.'s ed.), has it that the first muskets or fire-arms seen in Ireland were brought from Germany to Dublin in 1489, and presented to the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, who put them in the hands of the sentinels who stood guard before his residence in Thomas Street. This note rather contradicts than illustrates the text, and cannot be accepted as accurate. Manifestly they were used at Castle Car * in Leitrim in 1487, two years before that. Both the *F. M.* and the *A. of U.* attest this. No better authorities can be named. Neither the *A. of Boyle* nor the *A. of Cl.* come down as far as 1487. Accordingly this year was for this country the first of a new era in warfare, and Breifny saw its dawn.

Amidst the wars and wars of this year it is not to be expected that Clogh Oughter would enjoy an uninterrupted peace. Nor did it, as the following excerpt from the *A. of U.* (p. 325) shows :—

> A.D. 1487.—The fortress of Loch-uachtar was taken this year by the sons of Domnall Ua Raighilligh the Fair, namely, Ferghal and Edmund. And Ferghal himself died this year, the Saturday before Christmas [December 22nd] and was buried in Druimlethan [Drumlane].

This is the last distinct reference by any of the Annalists to Clogh Oughter. In the *A. of U.* is recorded, it is true, that in 1496 Florence O'Corcrain, "an eminent harper . . . . and a very good vocalist and instrumentalist [lit. sweet of hand and mouth]" died in the castle of O'Reilly. But whether this was Clogh Oughter or Tullymongan or some other, I am unable to determine.

CLOGH OUGHTER IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

The writer must now skip a considerable period in the castle's history. Coming down to the beginning of the 17th century he finds a reference in Bagwell's "Ireland under the Stuarts." In 1607 the castle was owned by Richard Nugent, 10th Baron of Delvin, then aged 23. He became involved in intrigues with Lord Howth, which led to the flight of Tyrone and the Plantation of Ulster. He confessed that he "put buzzes into the Earl of Tyrone's head." Having been imprisoned in Dublin Castle, he escaped and fled to Clough Oughter on a lake in Cavan. From there Delvin wrote to Chichester pleading youth. He was pardoned on condition of his surrendering within five days. Pressed

* The crannoge of Glencar lake is in Leitrim about five miles Sligowards from this Castle. There is a persistent local tradition, I am informed by a member, that the first iron sword made in Ireland was manufactured on this crannoge. It was a fortified one, and figures conspicuously in the Leitrim romance, *The Knight of Glencar.*

by troops he stole out of Clough Oughter, with two companions, leaving his infant son to be captured and taken to Dublin. Delvin was "enforced as a woodkern in mantle and trousers to shift for himself in the mountains" for four months; surrendered, was sent to England and pardoned. Some time after this date Sir Hugh Cullum, captain in Tyrone's wars, had the castle of Clough Oughter committed to his trust, as "Constable of the King's Castle of Clough Oughter." The tower must have been considered of great military importance, for a large grant of lands was given to Sir Hugh in consideration of his holding the place. The castle does not seem to have been regularly inhabited for a period of 40 years prior to 1641. In that year Sir Hugh's son, Mr. Arthur Collum, seems to have taken up his quarters in the castle on the outbreak of the war, but he had so neglected his trust that the fortress did not contain a "pound of powder nor one fixt musquet for its defence."

We have now come to an intensely interesting period in the castle's history, and indeed in the history of our country. The period from 1641 to 1653 is one of continuous fighting in Ireland, and the interest centres round the well-known figures of Bishop William Bedell and Owen Roe O'Neill, the Churchman and the soldier, both of whom are intimately associated with Lough Oughter Castle. The incidents of the war are well known, and I will confine myself as closely as possible to those connected with Killykeen. When the war broke out Bishop Bedell was in Kilmore. The O'Reillys were the leading family in the County Cavan. Indeed, Bagwell states they were supreme. Philip MacHugh MacShane O'Reilly, member for Cavan, was chosen as local leader. Edmund O'Reilly was chief of the clan, and his son, Miles O'Reilly, was High Sheriff. He sacked Farnham Castle, took possession of Clough Oughter Castle, his friend, Arthur Culme, or Collum, as we have seen, being then the governor. Cavan surrendered on the 29th of October, 1641; Bellananagh, being indefensible, surrendered to Philip MacMulmore O'Reilly, uncle to the sheriff. Pynnar states that "Mulmory Oge O'Reilly had 3,000 acres in Cavan, lived in an old castle with a bawn of sods, and hath made no catahs (leases) to any of his tenants, and they do all plough by the tail." The Scots in County Cavan got together at the very beginning of the war under command of Sir James Craig and Sir Francis Hamilton, in the castles of Tecrohen and Keilach—the respective homes of these leaders. Luke Dillon of Trinity Island was M.P. for Cavan County in 1634. These were some of the notables who took part in the events I will now shortly trace—Owen Roe O'Neill has not yet entered on the stage.

On the 17th day of December, 1641, Bishop Bedell was arrested by Edmund O'Reilly, and on the following morning Edmund

O'Reilly, with very much verbal kindness and civility, informed the Bishop that it was resolved to secure him in Lough Oughter Castle. Having furnished horses and a small guard, the bishop, his two sons, and his biographer, Rev. Alexander Clogy, the bishop's son-in-law, set out. They took the road which reached the lake in the townland of Corraneanvy, still known as "Cromwell Caussie," and on reaching the shore, opposite the castle, they were ferried over in a colt (cot) or trough, made of a single piece of timber. Alexander Clogy thus describes the castle—"The only place of strength in the whole county, called Cloch water. There was of old a little island about it, but it was worn all away to the bare stone walls, and not one foot of ground was to be seen only a tall, round tower, like a pidgeon-house, standing in the midst of the waters, and above a musquet-shot from it to each shore." It being winter time, the water must then have been right up to the foundation of the tower, and poor Alexander had ample time to observe the waters till the seventh of January, 1642, when the bishop, his two sons, and Clogy were released. The castle seems to have been very badly in need of repair, as there does not seem to have been door or window of glass or wood, to keep out the snow or rain, and the boards of the floors were so rotten and broken with rain that it seemed not very safe to walk upon them. The Scots having sallied out of Croghan and Keilach, captured four principal leaders of the O'Roruicks, whom they exchanged for the four prisoners. Arthur Cullum and another prisoner, a Mr. Richard Castledine, were not released till the 15th of June, when they joined the Scots of Croghan and Keilach, who had surrendered their forts; being allowed to march out with the honours of war. The remaining days of Bishop Bedell I need not touch upon.

The old grey tower parted with the old-time prelate, with whom it will be for ever associated. The Churchman goes on his way from his grim shelter, and now the tower awaits the advent of the other celebrated guest. Before parting with the six prisoners I think the following, culled from a note in Clogy's "Life of Bedell," is of great local interest. Mr. Richard Castledine was imprisoned in the castle with the bishop. He had at one time been a carpenter, "but being one of the wealthiest men in those parts," was not ashamed to return to his own trade, and effected repairs to the extent of making shutters for the large windows of the castle to keep the rain and wind from himself and his fellow-prisoners. The following is Clogy's note:—

> "This Richard Castledyne was brought over into Ireland (with his carpenter's tools on his back) by Sir Richard Waldron, who had a large plantation in the parish of Cavan, where he began to build a castle, called Fernham Castle, from the name of his place in England. All the carpenter's worke was contrived and performed by this Richard Castledyne, that by his diligence and sobriety in the feare (sic) of the Lord had gott a considerable estate under his master; who, playing the ill-husband and being corrupted by the Irish commessations, never finished his begun woorke, but gave way to this his servant to purchase his master's castle and all the lands belonging to it in less space than thirty yeares; and withall being exceedingly discouraged by the death of esquire Waldron, his eldest son, whom sadly overcome with drink, Major Trafford (that commanded the Welsh company at Belturbet) slew for speaking some rash words (as was pretended), he left Ireland and returned to England long before the rebellion. This industrious and thriving carpenter had no sonne, only two daughters, the one of which he had married to his master's, Sir Richard Waldron, youngest sonne, with a full intention to leave him all his father's lands that he had purchased of him if the rebellion had not interposed."

Thrifty Richard Castledine we leave on the dusty road to Drogheda on the 15th day of June, 1642, plodding along with the retreating Scots—evidently a worthy character; now, as he goes along turning over many things in his mind against his arrival amongst friends—a man of resource, not unmindful of his imprisonment, as we read in his deposition made after his release, in which he deposes "that he wel knoweth the Castle of Clow watr (sic) and that it is a very strong hold hardly to be wonn, but that they have noe wood for fireing nerer than a muskett shott from the castle at the least, but the staires and flores and that the chaine that maketh fast the twoo grates goeth through a piece of timber that lyeth in the wall, which may be burned by building a strong boate and a frame carried in this boate roofed over with ribbed iron to defend the men from stones which they may throw down from the topp of the Castle." Richard wants to get even with his late captors and have back a little of his own, but eleven long years will come and go before the grim tower finally surrenders. Farewell, Richard, you have given us a very interesting peep into the past.*

Bedell died on the 7th of February and was buried in Kilmore on the 9th. On the 13th of July a Spanish Colonel of Foot landed at Castle Doe, Donegal, to take over command of the Irish troops in Ulster. This officer was the celebrated Owen Roe

* Soon after Castledine leaving it Clogh Oughter seems to have been again made quite habitable. In July 1646, Monsignor Massari, Dean of Fermo, on his coming to Cavan, had for some time his quarters in it. The account of his experiences in Ireland, which he wrote on his return to Italy, is still extant and has been translated into English. He has much to tell us, of those whom he entertained in the Castle, and of his visits to the islands, to Cavan Monastery and even to Cavan Fair. But it would be a pity to spoil those contemporary local descriptions by quoting them in scraps, and they are too long to give here otherwise. Later it is hoped to give them in full.

O'Neill, who for seven eventful years was to sustain the fortunes of his side with varying success. Carlyle speaks of him as a man of real ability; surely no able man or son of order ever sank in a more dismal welter of confusions unconquerable by him. Owen Roe O'Neill was the son of Art MacBaron, the great Tyrone's brother, and was often called Owen Mac Art—known in Spanish service as Don Eugenio O'Neill. He was captain in Henry O'Neill's Irish regiment as early as 1607, colonel of the regiment about 1633, commanded the garrison of Arras during the siege of that fortress in 1640, and marched his men out with the honours of war on the 9th of August. He was in communication with the Irish leaders before the outbreak and knew what was on foot. On getting leave to go to Ireland he circulated the report that he had deserted in order to cover his tracks; sailed from Dunkirk round Scotland and landed in Donegal. On the voyage he captured two prizes, and despatched one small vessel to Wexford with arms, which were successfully landed. Owen brought to Ulster ammunition, arms, and a few officers and men of his own regiment. Sir Phelim O'Neill sent 1,500 men to join him, and he marched by Ballyshannon to Charlemont without meeting any of the enemy. In October, 1642, he was appointed General Commander by the Assembly at Kilkenny, but there seems to have been continual bickerings about this command. When Levin, the Scotch General, was leaving Ireland he wrote to Monro, his successor, that Owen O'Neill would be too much for him, Monro, if he (Owen) got an army together. After-events proved the truth of this. Arms were scarce, but recruits plenty, and in May, 1643, Owen, against his will, crossed swords with Monro at Clones and was beaten. However, on the 5th of June, 1646, he had his revenge, and overwhelmed Monro in the Battle of Benburb—the greatest defeat the English ever suffered in Ireland. After the battle Lord Ardes and Lord Montgomery, who were among those captured, were sent in custody from Benburb to Clogh Oughter. The latter at least was still there a month later as is seen from the Massari memoirs. This is the last time the Castle was used as a prison.

I shall pass over the remaining history of this gallant soldier, as it is hard to follow him in his fruitless struggle. In October, 1649, we find him lying sick in Lough Oughter Castle, still planning for the freedom of Ireland. But his fight was over, and the gallant soldier passed away on the 6th day of November, 1649. He lies amongst us in Cavan old churchyard, a few paces from where we are now met. Owen Roe O'Neill left behind him an untarnished reputation as a good general and generous foe. In an age of cruelty and savagery he never acted otherwise than as a straight, clean fighter—a patient, waiting man—biding his time and then striking his foes with a lightning stroke. It had been well for Ireland if she had placed her sole reliance on him. He was one of her greatest soldiers.

Gradually Ireland was reconquered, slowly but surely. In the spring of 1653 Lough Oughter Castle still holds out—the last post in Ulster. Flying columns commanded by Cromwellian officers march against the remnants of the hard-pressed Irish forces. And the result of one of these expeditions was the capitulation, on the 27th day of April, 1653, of the Ulster forces under the command of Philip O'Reilly, on terms called the "Articles of Cloughoughter."* They read as follows:—

Articles of Agreement between Col. Theophilus Jones and Col. Philip Reilly in the behalf of himself and his party, and the Lord of Enniskillen, Col. Miles Reilly, Col. MacMahon, Col. Hugh Maguire, Col. Con O'Neill, Col. Dan O'Cahan, and such others of the Ulster party, as shall accept thereof by the 18th of May next or before, ensuing the date hereof.

1. Pardon for life and indemnity for all things done by his party, except murder and robbery at the beginning, or any robbery since and violation of protection.

2. Liberty of transportation, and the benefit of any agreement which they can make with the Spanish Agent, or any other in amity with the State, and protection to such as desire to remain in the nation.

3. Leave to make sale of their goods before their departure, and the enjoyment of their personal estates by such of them as desire to live in the nation.

4. Satisfaction for their horses at reasonable prices.

5. Priests, or any other in Popish orders, to go away within one month; provided during their stay they exercise not their function and had no hand in murders, massacres, and robberies.

6. Such as are transported to have 14 days free quarters, after their laying down arms, and thoroughfare to the water side.

7. That Col. Reilly, with the party now with him on the west side of Loughern (Lough Erne), lay down their arms and deliver such forts in the islands, with all the ammunition and provision therein that is in his power, at or before 18th May next at Croghan, and Col. Hugh Maguire's regiment to lay down their arms the 18th of May next at Belcome (? Belcoo) Fort, in the County of Fermanagh, and all others of his party included in these Articles are to lay down their arms in the several counties where their quarters are, in such places as the governors of the several counties shall appoint.

8. That such Colonels of Col. Reilly's party, as shall at any time before the day of their laying down arms, declare to the governors of the respective counties or garrisons there, (their) being included in these Articles, by giving in an hostage for each of their performance to the said governors, that then the said

* Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, p. 336.

governors are to give to the respective Colonels and their companies passes to secure them from the violence of the soldiers until the day of their laying down arms, they acting nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth of England, to their armies or garrisons.

9. That the respective officers have liberty to dispose of their horses for their best advantage to any of the Parliament's party, as likewise liberty to wear their travelling arms.

10. That Major Charles Reilly remain as hostage at the garrison of Lismore for the performance of the laying down arms of Col. Philip Reilly's regiments both of horse and foot at the time and place aforesaid, as also for the delivering of all such forts in islands, with all the ammunition, provision and other utensils of war in any of the said forts that is now under his command: (by provision is meant that which is laid in for the public store).

11. That in case the Lord General Fleetwood and Commissioners of Parliament assent not to the confirmation of the above Articles at or before Wednesday next, being the 4th day of May, that then these Articles are to be void and of none effect, and Major Charles Reilly is thereupon to be returned safe unto Col. Philip Reilly, who is likewise to be freed from any engagement by the above said Articles. In witness of all which, we have hereunto interchangeably set our hands and seals this 27th April, 1653. Philip Reilly.

I do hereby engage and promise, that upon notice given unto me by Col. Jones of the Lord General Fleetwood's and Commissioners of Parliament's confirmation of the Articles concluded between the said Col. Jones and myself bearing date this day, to deliver the Castle of Cloughwater with all the arms, ammunition, provision, goods, and whatsoever else there is in the said castle to Col. Jones, or to whom he shall appoint for the use of the Commonwealth of England. Witness my hand this 27th April, 1653. Philip Reilly.

The explanation of the Article concerning murder given to Col. Philip Reilly himself is as follows: He is not esteemed guilty of murder except he had actually a hand in a particular murder or did command the same, or except he was present and had command when a particular murder was committed by persons under his command by his order, provided he had no knowledge thereof before it was done; nor is it thereby intended that any killed in fight in the open field at any time since the beginning of the Rebellion be decreed and adjudged murder. Date, 27th April, Theo. Jones, Articles of Capitulation, ff. 110-112.

Two other references in Dunlop are of interest—"O'Reilly's Castle of Ballinacargy (now Carrigan), also called the Castle of Lough Oughter (Uachtar, *i.e.*, the upper lake), stands on an artificial island at the north end of the lough, half way between Killeshandra and Belturbet. It was there that Bishop Bedell

was imprisoned and Owen Roe O'Neill died.*" Dunlop is mistaken and confuses Ballinacargy Castle, near Drung, on the Annalee, with Lough Oughter Castle at Killykeen. The other reference is connected with Trinity Island, and occurs in vol. ii., page 323. Letter No. 351, Commissioners to the Council of State, dated 4th Feb., 1653:—"It hath also pleased the Lord to assist another party of your forces under Colonel Barrow against a party of the rebels, who, in hope of safety and for the better annoyance of the country, had betook themselves into certain islands and bogs; and to deliver into your hands Trinity Island, lying in the County of Cavan, which was a considerable fastness of the enemy's, and able to receive about 1,500 men in it."

The final scene in the drama is to be played. Some time after the capitulation the castle was evidently mined and blown up. Large portions of masonry falling outwards rendered the castle useless for defence, or abode of man.

The inhabitants are now changed, and innumerable birds find it a secure home, building their nests in its shattered tower. The scene of many a striking incident in the history of our country, it will ever be connected with the memories of two great men—William Bedell and Owen Roe O'Neill, two friends of Ireland.

I must pass over many other places of interest in the neighbourhood of Killykeen. Slanore Abbey has already been fully dealt with. But what of Trinity, and, more interesting still, Drumlane Abbey, the ancient earthworks at Kilmore, and numerous other places of antiquarian interest near Killykeen? Every year as it passes makes the work of compiling more difficult. I have endeavoured to follow the course of the events relating to my subject, rejecting any facts not well authenticated. I am sure much interesting matter connected with it has been overlooked and much more will reward the patient worker in as yet unexplored avenues. Personally, I have derived great pleasure in reading up the few books on the subject I have had access to through the kindness of friends, one of whom supplied me with some valuable references. Killykeen will repay a visit by the members of our Society, and perhaps we may look forward to that pleasure at an early date.

WILLIAM REID.

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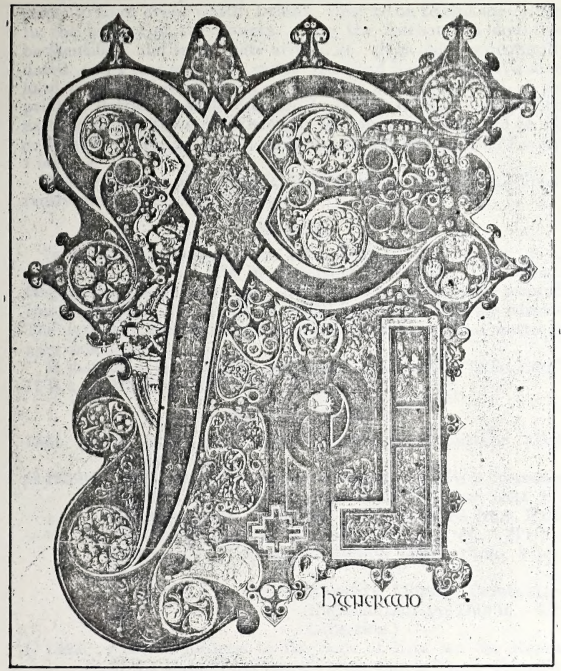
*Vol. I., p. 13, n. 2.

Monogram Page from the Book of Kells.



The Book of Kells is a vellum MS. of the Four Gospels in Latin. The original is in T.C.D. library. As to its date, "it is ascribed, according to the best authorities, to the close of the 7th c" (Hyde). It is the most beautifully written book in the world. Professor Westwood of Oxford, who says so, also states that for hours together he had examined it, using a magnifying glass, without once detecting a false line or an irregular interlacing. "Every examination of it," declares another expert in MSS., "only increases our wonder at the glory of its ornamentation, its exquisite tracery, and the perfect harmony of its colouring . . . ." A photograph, such as the above, which fails to reproduce the brilliant colouring, gives but a faint idea of its marvellous perfection; a perfection which prompted Cambrensis in the 12th c. to credit a legend that such a MS. is the work not of human but of angelic skill.

The page illustrated above Westwood refers to as "the most elaborate specimen of caligraphy which was, perhaps, ever executed."

FIRST PRINTING IN THE COUNTY LEITRIM.

By E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A.

[Read 9th March, 1922.]

So far I have only found printing in 3 towns in this County—two prior to 1850 and one starting in 1851. I subjoin a list of each separately. Questions arise as to dates. Perhaps Members of the Society can assist in tracing the dates or the printers themselves. Further research may discover more items of printing in these towns.

BALLINAMORE.

Let us consider now these short lists separately, taking "Ballinamore" first. You will see the first item is undated but is conjecturally assigned to "1839." This is arrived at by first adding 14 to 1824 (= 1838), and then allowing one year for the return and publication. Perhaps Bernard Reilly returned before the 14 years expired. The Census Return of 1841 does not contain the name of "John Connolly"; so I fear that the conjectural date "1839" is too early and must be changed to "1842" at least, if not later. It is strange to find in the Census Return a lad of 16 returned as a Printer!

The first certain date is that of Slater's Directory in 1846. If some reader or Member of the Society knows, or is connected with, Ballinamore, he (or she) can say if there is a "*Church Street*" still there, and if any tradition of "*John Connolly*" still survives. It would be interesting to know when and why he, a Galway man, came to Ballinamore. Perhaps it was his mother's native place. One would also like to know when he left it, or died. His business must have been commercial chiefly. Sometimes a pamphlet has a false imprint, being really printed elsewhere privately. I always regret the omission of a date on a title page, but it may be possible to date it from a careful study of the contents; so in the present list a person, well acquainted with past events happening in Ballinamore, might be able to date approximately the undated items in this list. I hope this may be the case.

There is one source of information about printers that often helps us, *i.e.*, the Census Returns of 1821 and later years. The early ones might be examined and perhaps would throw light on the subject of the Printers here.

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

The first item of printing here is undated and very doubtful. It refers to some event which, I think, must be on record somewhere in the history of the County. Also the Author can doubtless be identified, and so the date arrived at. It is only conjecturally dated, and I fear is far too early. The 2nd item must have some local origin or reference. Can anything more be traced of the printer, Patrick Joseph Brennan? Is his address in 1846 still existing in the Town? When did he come, and when did he die or leave? These are questions that can best be answered locally, I believe.

The newspaper printed here, in 1850, is the first Journal apparently published in the County.

MOHILL.

In this list you will at once notice that printing, so far as at present known, was late in appearing at Mohill; but then a Magazine appeared there soon, and three newspapers were printed. Has a complete file of any of them been preserved anywhere? The neglect to keep our local Journals for past years is a matter of very much regret.

It may be noted that the first item in the list is a "2nd Edn." It is a controversial Tract by a Protestant.

BALLINAMORE.

1841. Peter Curran (16) Printer. Native of Co. Leitrim. (*Vide* Census Return).

(? 1839), ? 1846. A True History of *Bernard Reilly*, a Returned Convict, who was Transported *In the Year* 1824 For Fourteen years. And has lately returned from Exile with an Account of his Sufferings, etc., etc. *Written by himself.* (J Connolly, Church Lane), 16mo, 8 pp., verse.
(University Library, Cambridge: National Library, Dublin.—Dix Collection.)

(? 1843. ? 1846. Address to the Sons of Erin (on the Repeal of the Union). A Slip. 8 verses. Single Sheet. Connolly, Printer. (British Museum. 1835. m. 19 (24).)

1846. (John Conolly, Printer and Bookbinder.)
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for this year.)

1851. John Conolly, Printer and Binder. Native of Galway (and his wife).
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1856. John Conolly (Printer and Bookbinder).
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for 1856.)

CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

1817. A Simple Narrative solely interesting to Three Hundred Poor Families, Occupiers of a certain District in the County Leitrim, the reputed Estate of the Earl of Bessborough.* The Rev. Dominick Fanning, P.P. 4to.
(Brit. Mus—807, f. 36/24.)

1841. Patrick Joseph Brennan, Printer (Native of Dublin), 87 Main Street, aged 28, not married.
Michael Cahill (21), and Bernard Rafferty (18), Journeymen Printers (Natives of Co. Cavan.)
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1841. Report on the State and Progress of Public Buildings, Bridges, Roads, etc., in the Co. of Leitrim. Thos. D. Hall, C.E. 8°, 16 pp. (last blank) + folding sheet. (*P. J. Brennan*, County Printer, Leitrim.)
(R. I. A., /H.P., vol. 2101 17.)

1841. (Ed. Beirne, Jr., Printer), 93 Main Street.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1846. (Patrick J. Brennan, St. George's Place).
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)

1850, Oct. 17th to Dec. 26th. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser, Nos. 1-11. Weekly on Thursdays. 5 cols. to a page. Price 5d.—Some Nos. wanting. (*John Nevin Trimble*, Carrick on Shannon.)
(Brit. Mus.—Newspapers.)

1851. (1) Michael Curley (19). Printer, 2 Leitrim Street. Native of Co. Leitrim.
(2) Patrick Joseph Brennan, (38), Letterpress Printer, 1 Jail Street (Wife and child).
(3) Edward Johnston (20), 25 Main Street, Letterpress Printer.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1851. John N. Trimble (24), Bridge Street, Native of Enniskillen, Proprietor of Leitrim Journal.
Wm. Gibson (24), Editor, Native of Enniskillen.
Jas. Wilson (16), Printer, Native of Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh. (*Vide Census Return.*)

* In the book there is an insertion of 16 pages, smaller leaf, dated from Drumshambo, 1st January, 1817. It is an appeal to Lord Bessborough's friends on behalf of his "Broken-hearted and Pennyless Peasants. His English agents are overcharging exorbitant rents, etc." The appeal is signed by Fr. Fanning and 22 tenants. Mention is made of an agreement made at Murhaun chapel. There is no printer's name or place given, but the printing is so well done that I don't think this insertion was done locally.
—*V.* Memo from Dr. Crone.

Murhaun chapel, from which the parish takes its name, was an old thatched one. Its walls can just be made out in Murhaun graveyard, within a few hundred yards of the present Drumshambo C. Church. A very old man, Andrew McManus, of Blackrock, Mahanagh, who died a few years ago, often attended Mass in it.—Ed.

1851-1859. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser.
(British Mus.—Newspapers.)

1860. Same. Jan. 19th to Mar. 15th. N.B.—3 issues are wanting. (*John Nevin Trimble.*)
(British Mus.—Newspapers.

1861 to 1872. Same. Do. do.

1864. The Leitrim Journal and Carrick-on-Shannon Advertiser. No. III. 2nd Series. 2nd Jan., 1864. Price 2d. 4 pages. 5 cols. Carrick-on-Shannon. Printed and Published every Saturday by the Proprietor Wm. Trimble (afterwards and at same time, of the Fermanagh Reporter). (Authority, Dr. J. S. Crone, London.)

(? 1869). A Roll of all Gentlemen who filled the offices of High Sheriff, etc., etc., for the Co. of Leitrim from 1600 to 1868.** Compiled by A. Harrison (*Brennan*), 4to.
(*Vide* late Mr. M. Darey's Library Catalogue, also Journal R.S.A.I., 1908, p. 382.)

1870 The Leitrim Journal. (*Wm. Trimble.*).
(*Vide* Slater's Directory for 1870.)

1870. Patrick J. Brennan, Bookseller, Stationer and Printer, St. George's Terrace.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)

MOHILL.

1851. Robert Turner (28) Printer, 5 Hyde Street. Marianne Turner, his wife (Married 1848), Printer.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1852. The Portrait of Mary in Heaven, from the French of Napoleon Roussel, etc. Preface, Letter to Rev. J. W. Evers, P.P., etc.. Mr. John White. Printed at the Connaught Publishing Office. (*R. Turner*). 2nd Edition. 12mo. 40 pp. Last page blank.
(National Library, Dix Collection.)

1853. The Christian Intelligencer and Literary Magazine. Monthly. (R. Turner).
(*Vide* Advertisement at back of next item.)

* This Roll was reprinted for private circulation in 1909 by Js. Ormsby Lawder, of Lawderdale, who was H. Sheriff of Leitrim in that year. Mr. Lawder also continued it from 1868 till 1909. It contains the lists of the M.P.'s for Co. Leitrim from 1613 till 1909, and also for the Boroughs of Carrick-on-Shannon (or Carrickdrumruske) and of Jamestown from their establishment in 1613 till their dissolution in 1800. It also gives 21 Grand Jury lists from 1778 till 1868 and several other lists.—Editor.

1853. Language, its History and Use: A Lecture, etc. The Rev. Jno. Graham (R. Turner). 8vo. 24 pp. and cover.
(Natl. Liby., Dix. Collection; and R.I.A./H.P., vol. 2136/4.)

1856. Robert Turner, Stationer and Printer, Hyde Street.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory.)

1856, June. The Leitrim Advertiser. (Weekly—Thursdays).
(*Vide*, Layton's "Handy News paper List," and next item.)
N.B. See next item, probably the same.

1858, Jan. 2nd to Dec. 25th. The Leitrim Gazette and County Advertiser. 4 pp. Vol. III. Nos. 8 to 134. 7 cols. to a page up to Sept. 18th, and 6 cols. to a page afterwards. Weekly, Saturdays. (Robert Turner, Main Street.)
(British Museum—N.)

1859 to 1867. Same.
(British Museum.—N.)

1867, Oct. 10th to Dec. The Leitrim and Longford Advertiser (*Successor* to the Leitrim *Gazette*.) Vol. I. Nos 1-12. 4 pp. 6 cols. to a page. Price 2d. Weekly. Thursdays. (Robert Turner, Main Street, Mohill.)
(British Mus.—N.)

1868 to 1900. Same.
(British Museum – N.).
(N.B.—Imperfect set.)

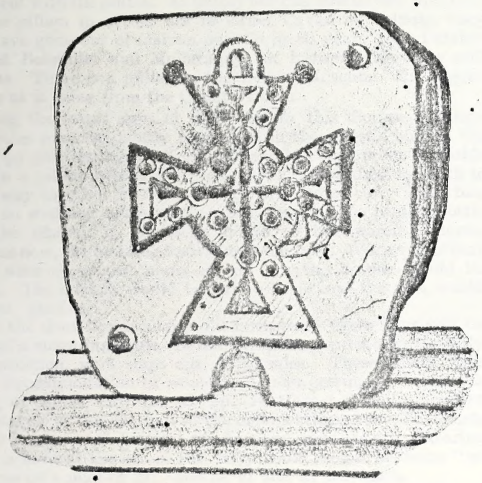
1870. (Robert Turner, Main Street, Printer, Stationer, etc.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory)

E. R. Mc. DIX.

EXHIBITS AT THE FIFTH MEETING:

[8th March, 1922.]

1. Mould of a Kelto-Maltese Cross.—This object is owned by one of our members, Mr. Berry. It was found a few years ago in Milltown Bog, Parish of Drumlane, by Mr. Thos. Smith. The stone mould seems perfect, but a close examination reveals that one or two little flakes have come away. In outline it exactly resembles the Victoria Cross designed after the Crimean campaign



The Milltown Cross Mould. (Exact size).

Drawn by MASTER JOHN O'REILLY, Carrigan, N.S., Ballintemple.

of 1856. The Milltown Cross, which is not quite perfectly symmetrical, is 1½ inches broad and, including the solid ring at the top, a little over 2 inches high. Its ornamentation is very tasteful.

The object looks like a mould for badges, possibly of Knights Hospitallers. An authority suggests that it may have been used for adorning the fore-plate of reliquaries, of which there are some examples in the Dublin Museum. It is likely to have been used for long and long before it was lost, and is said to have been found at the great depth of fifteen feet. As to its exact date, it would afford considerable assistance in determining it could it be said what is the average rate of the growth of bogs. No very reliable information on that point is yet available.

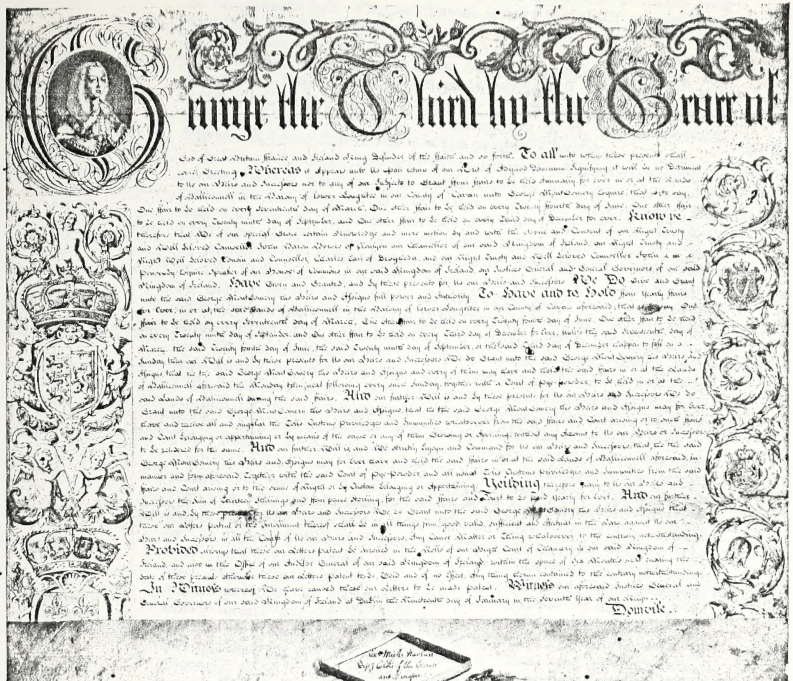
2. Flint Arrow Head.—Mr. Berry also sent in a flint arrow head. It is of the barbed and stemmed variety. It was picked up a year or two ago by Mr. Francis O'Reilly, of Roskeeragh, Belturbet, in one of the fields as he was harrowing. Numberless such objects have been found in Cavan and Leitrim. Popularly they were supposed to belong to the fairies; and they were, of course, proof positive of their existence. In both counties a sudden and strange disease used to affect cattle. They were said to be "elf-shot." Milch cows, especially milch cows grazing near the sacred precincts of a fort, were much subject to it. A score of years ago in Leitrim these little pointed articles were occasionally shown by the specialists who had "the cure" as the identical darts that had been hurled at the beasts by "the good people" to drive them away, so causing the mysterious illness. It is gratifying to be able to say that the disease is no longer rampant in either county. In Leitrim it died out with the last generation; in Cavan so long ago that very few can be found who remember it or even heard of it. Though no value was set on them and most of them were lost again, in reality these prepared flints are most interesting, were it only for their almost incredible age. They properly belong to the Late Stone period, and the best authorities assign about the year 2,000 B.C. as the date of its ending for this country. "Worked flints," writes Wakeman, "which had served the purposes of knives, scrapers, skinners, arrow-, javelin-, or spear-heads . . . . . have been found in enormous quantities in Ireland, and particularly in Ulster." Once they were to be had for a song, and were exported by the hundred to England, Europe and America. Antrim, in which this kind of stone is abundant, was the centre of the trade. The supply soon became exhausted, but the trade continued. Counterfeits were produced by clever natives, who came to be known as "Flint Jacks," and were eagerly purchased by unsuspecting strangers, American tourists, according to Wakeman, being, strange to say, the most gullible. Similarly, at Waterloo, more than 100 years after the great event, the trade in relics, "picked up on the battlefield," you will be assured, is still brisk. When a flint arrow-head or flint chisel is accidentally come across, as in the case of the Roskeeragh find, there can be little doubt or suspicion as to its genuineness.

3. A Pillion.—Everyone knows what a pillion was, though very few have seen one. It is a lady's saddle which was strapped on behind the main saddle, the horse thus carrying double. They were as carefully made as saddles, and as carefully girt on, and were besides much more comfortable. They were often elaborately decorated, and were much like easy-chairs. Many of them, like the Crosserlough one, had a back, but more commonly they had sides and no back. The frame, slender but strong, was of iron, the seat and flap of leather or of some heavy cloth, well padded. The lady sat sideways, facing left, away from the whip hand. There were two rests for her feet, corresponding to stirrups, hanging by cords or leather straps from the frame beneath the flap. When riding in one, to wear a long woollen over mantle was the correct thing. These cloaks were usually grey and were called jocks. They were never put on except for such occasions. They went with the pillion. As hardly one can now be met with that saw the pillion in actual use in either Cavan or Leitrim, they must have gone out of fashion over 70 or 80 years ago. Further west, at Belmullet and Mullaranny, for instance, they are still in vogue. There is a pillion in the Belfast Museum. Mr. Bigger informs us it came from the County Down.

During the latter days of their use in this diocese marriage ceremonies were frequently performed in the priest's house. On the happy pair leaving it, it was as much the custom for the bride to go in a pillion behind the groom as it is nowadays for both to drive away together from the church in a motor car. Then, too, it was no wedding unless there was a race for the bride's bottle from the chapel or minister's house to her parents' home, where, as now, the wedding festivities were held. When important people were concerned many steeds carrying double would be present. The contest would be left to them and the race would be most exciting.

Near the door beside many old farmsteads there may still be observed a **mounting stone.** Beside Stradone there is a particularly good specimen, with steps cut in its sides. These stones were for the accommodation of women. A man getting on horseback needed, of course, only the stirrup. In Harper O'Neill's account of his travels in the last half of the eighteenth century, he boasts of Toby Peyton of S. Leitrim, the harpers' great patron, declaring that at a hunt at the age of 100 Toby could mount his horse "as dexterous as a man of 20," and be in first at the death.

4. Charter for Four Fairs in Ballyconnell.—These Letters Patent are dated 19th January, 1767, and, as the endorsements show, they were duly enrolled both in the High Court of Chancery, Ireland, and in the Auditor General's Office four days afterwards. By them George III. conveyed to George Montgomery the right of holding four fairs at Ballyconnell and a "Court of Pye Powder." There is also granted him and his heirs and assigns for ever all


George the Third by the Grace of

The Ballyconnell Charter of 1767.

the "Tolls, Customs, Privileges and Immunities whatsoever" arising out of the fairs and Court, the consideration being the sum of thirteen and four pence sterling, to be paid yearly for ever to His Majesty or his heirs. The document is rather long to be given in full. The parchment is very tastefully ornamented, and the wording clearly engrossed and easily read. The seal, in green wax, is still attached to it, but is somewhat damaged. The charter was discovered last year in a book-shop along the quays in Dublin by a gentleman connected with the "Irish Farmer's Gazette," and he has very kindly lent it, as well as the printing block made from a photograph of it, to the Society. There can be no doubt but it is the original Charter.

A few particulars may add to its interest. This George Montgomery was a man of some importance in his day. He was defeated at the election of 1761, but succeeded at the next, and was Knight of the Shire of Cavan from 1769 till his death in 1787 (see p. 104). He was connected by marriage with the Earl of Ross, Baron Conyngham and Lord Massey. His wife, sister of the first Lord Leitrim, pre-deceased him at Bath in 1786. In 1611 Captain Culme and Walter Talbot received 1,500 acres at Ballyconnell, and on it by 1619 they had raised a strong castle, three stories high, surrounded by a strong bawne 100 feet square and 12 feet high, and having two flanking towers. This castle was totally burned down by an accidental fire some time before 1764, and in that year Mr. Montgomery erected on its site Ballyconnell House. His family do not seem to have continued there, for in 1837 the residence was occupied by Mr. J. Enery. (Lewis's *Top. Dict.*) This may have been the Jn. Enery, jr., who was High Sheriff in 1796. The Enerys' names are found in the County records for over a century. In 1727 a John was Captain in the Hon. Th. Coote's Regiment of Foot of the Cavan Militia (Rev. Swanzy's List). In 1843 a Wm. H. was High Sheriff. One branch of the family lived at Bawnboy, another at Ballyconnell. The four fairs granted were to be held on 17th March, 24th June, 29th September, and 3rd December. By 1801 the town had four additional fairs in other months, and by 1837 it had a fair in every month except November. Later, November got its fair, so that at present there is one every month. The people seem to have taken the matter into their own hands and never minded charters. The irregularity of the dates of the first fairs was kept up in those created later.

The Court of *Pye Powder* needs explanation. In reality the words stand for Old or Norman French Pie Poudreux, and mean "Dusty Foot." The Court was an ancient one incident to fairs and markets in corporate towns, and deriving its authority from the town charter, as in the case of Cavan. It administered justice in a rough and ready way to all comers, but principally to pedlars and wanderers. This Court has long been obsolete; it would

be difficult to find a later instance of its creation than the Ballyconnell one of 1767. Its jurisdiction was merged in the Court of Petty Sessions. An interesting relic of its ancient functions survived in Section 17 of the Summary Jurisdiction Act and in Section 9 of the Petty Sessions Act (14 and 15 Vic., caps. 92 and 93). These sections gave power to any justice of the peace in Ireland to hear and determine out of Court any dispute between buyer and seller at fairs and markets relating to any article, matter, or thing, not above £5 in value, as also cases of drunkenness and vagrancy. Whenever a "Pied Poudre" or "Dusty Foot" Court was granted, as here, to a non-corporate town the steward of whoever had or owned the tolls and customs was the judge. In the "Dusty Foot" Court for the borough of Cavan the Sovereign or Mayor and at least two of the Burgesses (Aldermen) "or any other person named or authorised with him or them," acted as judges. Under the 1611 Charter there existed in Cavan Borough a much more important Court held every three weeks, at which the Sovereign and the Burgesses adjudicated. It had the power to determine all manner of actions, "soe as," the charter lays down, "the same doe not exceed in debt and damages the sum of twenty pound ster."

—Shown by Rev. J. B. Meehan.

6. MS. Poll Book of the Cavan Election of 1761 for two Knights of the Shire The polling lasted from Monday, the 4th, till Saturday, the 23rd May, both inclusive. The candidates were :—

The Right Hon. Brinsley Butler, Esq. commonly called Lord Newtown The Hon. Barry Maxwell, Esq.	In conjunction.
And	
Charles Coote, Esq. George Leslie Montgomery.	In conjunction.

Lord Newtown and Coote succeeded; but on the 19th May Maxwell retired, contending that as the writ should be returned on that day the election should there and then close. Between him and Coote it was the closest of contests, and he was just one vote ahead of Coote on that and the two preceding days. From the start Newtown topped the poll, and Montgomery was last; 1157 voted and the final results were :—

Newtown.	Coote.	Montgomery.
612	600	549

The election was conducted in a very formal and most orderly fashion.

—Shown by Mr. Wm. Read.

Note.—In reference to the little sun-dial shown at last meeting (see p. 194, No. 4, a), Dr. F. P. Smith, a member of our Committee, received the following interesting letter :—

Cullaboy,
Granard,
21st Nov., 1921.

Dear Doctor,

In the report of the exhibits at the last meeting of the Antiquarian Society mention is made of a metal ring which was used as a sun dial, "but how it served the purpose remained a puzzle." I wish to write to you about it.

As I am the person who handed Mr. Haughton the dial, I am sending you directions herewith which will enable you to see that the puzzle is very simple.

It is not true, as stated, that it was found in a tilled field near Finnea. It belonged to my ancestors back at least for 200 years.

The name I heard it called was pocket dial or ring dial. Its origin must date back very far. It must have come very soon after the sun dial, as the watch came after the clock. There is a name engraved on the bottom of the ring—"Handcock." Whether this is the name of the instrument or the maker I cannot tell.

Hoping that this imperfect description will interest and assist,

I am, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
J. Donnellan.

Directions.

Move outer ring till the pin hole is opposite N. (This stands for November, the other initials are for the other months of the year, and the outer ring has to be moved for each in the same way.)

Let ring hang from string and hold it steady.

Face pin-hole till the sun shines through it and reflects on number inside ring. This tells the time.

This holds from 4 a.m. till noon.

Mr. Donnellan sent a neat diagram which explains how the ring gave the time from noon onwards till night. We are extremely grateful to him for his correction and description.

THE GREEN LAKE AND "ALT" ANNAGELLIFFE.

By JOHN SMITH, C.E.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

In the autumn of 1855 the subject of this paper first engaged my attention. From the consideration of things in connection with the Green Lake and their close resemblance to, or identity with, the results to be looked for in some whirling fluids, I was led to form, what appeared to me, a very reasonable opinion as to the comparatively recent origin of the Green Lake; that it is the result of a sudden inundation of the valley by a current making a considerable angle with its direction. The existence of a great chasm, or cut, upwards of forty feet deep, in the hill above the lake through which the Annagelliffe river flows at present before entering the valley of the lake, strengthened the opinion which I had formed as to the origin of that lake. To test the correctness of this opinion I wrote some letters to the local journal—"The Anglo-Celt"—setting forth my opinion and reasons for that opinion, also expressing a wish that its correctness should be tested by actual observation of things which I stated should be found to exist if my opinion was correct. One of the things which I particularly pointed out for observation was a beach shelf in the Annagelliffe valley. The publication of those letters failed to excite that interest I had wished for. Unexpectedly, circumstances brought me to the locality about the end of that year, and I availed myself of the opportunity to make an examination of the Annagelliffe valley for the beach shelf which I readily found. With a levelling instrument, in proper adjustment, I traced the shelf for a considerable distance along the hillsides, which shelf I found to be a perfect contour. The shelf being there, a perfect contour, on the same level as the former outlet from the valley, and lower only by a few feet than the hill-top adjacent to the cut, furnishes evidence, sufficiently clear, to warrant the conclusion that a lake at some former time filled the valley of the Annagelliffe river up to the beach shelf.

Subsequently, I traced on a map of the locality which I compiled for the purpose almost the whole of the shelf. On this map I also recorded the outlet from the former lake previous to the formation of the cut already referred to. That outlet entered the Green Lake valley below the present lake. It would be seen,

by reference to the map, that the former lake covered a very large surface, many times larger than that covered by the Green Lake, the former lake extending from the rocks of Tirquin to near Stradone. This large lake, having its outlet through a confined channel in the clay slate rocks, must have had its surface level considerably raised in flood times, because of the quantity of water which fell into it in long-continued heavy rain seasons and the insufficiency of the discharge channel to vent the extraordinary floods with sufficient rapidity. As the hill, at the cut, has only a superior elevation of very few feet, above what I consider as the ordinary flood water level in the former lake, the flood water level on extraordinary flood occasions must have been raised above the lowest part of the retaining hill, and the excess water on those occasions must have made its escape by this auxiliary outlet. The overflow, or excess water, falling down the lower side of the retaining hill, into the valley of the Green Lake, cut a trench, formed of several cascades, insignificant at first, but by repetition enlarged and continued to the very water margin of the overflowing lake; and thus was a second channel of discharge opened into the former lake. The retaining hill, in which the second, or new, channel of discharge was opened, being composed of drift clay and small boulders, easily yielded to the action of running water which every moment became more powerful and violent. Into the lower, or Green Lake, valley, the discharging, or former lake, threw its waters through this rapidly enlarging vent, and the effects produced in that valley by the fall of such a large body of water in a brief period, falling down a height varying from about forty feet downwards, must have some relation to the magnitude of the grand waterfall. The valley which received the falling water, and on which its force when falling was spent, was but ill-adapted to resist without yielding the action of the waterfall. To the action of the falling water the valley yielded—most where the force was greatest—and the Green Lake is as clearly the effect of this cause as is the cut which vented the water of and drained the former lake.

The particular period at which this phenomenon occurred is an interesting subject for inquiry. Although comparative effects do not give in all cases a precise clue to the exact time in which those effects were produced, still it is important to have comparative effects as indicating the period in which they may be supposed to have been produced. If we assume the action of the water of a lake on its beach to produce effects, increasing as time elapses, we may approximately fix the time by the amount of effect produced—and the more closely if we know the amount of effect which corresponds to a known period of time. Applying this to the Green, and other small lakes near Cavan—Beaghy, for instance—we conclude that as compared with Beaghy Lake the Green Lake is quite modern; and the same conclusion would

be come to by comparing the Green and Swellan Lakes, Swellan being referable to the same period as Beaghy.

In the alluvial deposit of the former (Annagelliffe) lake the antlers and some other bones of an elk were accidentally discovered. The skeleton was deposited near the outlet from the former lake, adjacent to a rock shore. It is to be regretted that the parties who made the search, after the accidental discovery of one of the antlers, under the direction of the Rev. Wm. Prior Moore, M.A., had not directed their observation to the position of the bones *in situ*. All the information that can now be obtained on this subject is contained in Mr. Moore's letter which is given below :—

"The Royal School, Cavan,
May 7, 1859.

"Sir—In reply to your favour of the 5th, I beg to state that some years ago a tenant of mine making a ditch in the low grounds north-east of the Green Lake found a large elk horn. I then employed some men to search for the remainder of the bones, etc., but only found the other horn, one of the vertebrae of the neck and the head with the exception of the lower jaw, all in a state of the greatest preservation. The antlers are, perhaps, the largest in the kingdom, with the exception of those in the Dublin Society House ; they measure upwards of eleven feet from tip to tip, without a single defect. I searched in vain for the rest of the skeleton, but I presume it cannot be very far from the locality where I found the horns. The horns were found in the alluvial deposit. The most remarkable circumstance in connection with the district in question is the immense cut in the hill by which the water was introduced into the valley where the present lake is. This cut, in regard to its enormous dimensions, may well vie with any of the great engineering works of the present day ; and yet it is of such remote antiquity that no trace or record of it is anywhere to be found. Previous to this great cutting the whole of the low country up to Stradone must have been constantly under water.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"Wm. Prior Moore."

It is true, if we suppose the legends of the Green Lake to have no reference to the formation of the cut, that there is no account or tradition referring to the formation of this great chasm, preserved in the locality. If, however, we consider the formation of the cut in connection with the drainage of the former and the formation of the present lake, the legend of those lakes may be taken as referring not only to the lakes, but also to the cut. And, indeed, it seems manifest that the latter is the correct construction of one of the legends. "The lake moved from the upper to the lower side of the Annagelliffe hill in one night," is a legend preserved in the neighbourhood. "And," it might be added, "in its passage formed the cut in that hill." This legend

speaks of a lake drained and a lake formed in a single night, which, considering the antiquity of the event, is not over-exaggerated. The other legend has no reference whatever to the former lake, but only to the Green Lake and the ancient town of Cavan. "The ancient town of Cavan is beneath the water of the Green Lake," is this other legend, which, if strictly true, would give the date of the formation of the Green Lake in the historic period. The legends taken together speak of the whole phenomena and are confirmatory. John Smith.

Mr. Reid said Rev. Mr. Crowe had sent him the following note in reference to the paper :—

Erck—Ecclesiastical Annals. In Library, T.C.D. Published 1830. Kilmore Diocese, 1629, A.D.

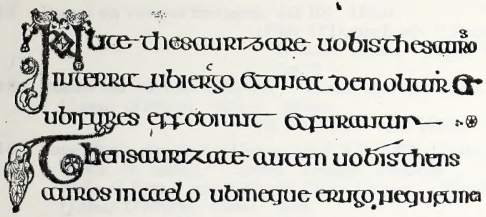
"Annakelly.—As the ancient foundation was considered a most unfitting place for re-edifying the Church in this parish, being situate to the north-east, in the uttermost and remotest part of the Parish within an Island, which from the winter floods was almost inaccessible, and as the greater part of the Parish lay about 3½ miles to the south-west of the said Church, on a poll of land called Gortneishe, where there is a plantation of British inhabitants resident ; it was also found by inquisition taken in this year that the top of the south end of the hill of the said parcel of land would be a more convenient place for erecting the Parish Church of Annakelly or Annagaliffe ; Roger Moynes, the proprietor of the said proportion, being willing to grant 1½ acres of same for the site of the Church and Churchyard, the residue of which was to remain to the use of the Parson of the said Parish for the purpose of erecting a parsonage-house."

In the discussion which followed, the majority who took part dissented from the opinion of the writer of the paper. Mr. Th. O'Reilly said that 30 years ago he had carefully gone over the ground. He, too, had found the strand of the old lake high up on the hill, and at the same level all round ; but he came to the conclusion that the alt, which drained it away, was artificial.

The extract from Erck sent in by the Chairman would go to sustain this view ; and it also suggests that the cutting was made in fairly recent times, *i.e.*, since 1629. There are still hopes that a definite entry of the doing of the work will be come upon in the County Records or elsewhere. That would end the debate.

The old river ran between the tlds. of Tierquin and Pollamore and crossed the road at Gortnakesh. It is still easily traceable. This road was the old coach road to Dublin.

SPECIMEN OF WRITING IN THE BOOK OF KELLS, 7th C.



The same Six Lines—Line for Line—in 20th C. Print :—

Nolite thesaurizare uobis thesauros
in terra ubi ergo et tinea demolitur et
ubi fures effodiunt et furantur.
Thesaurizate autem uobis thens
auros in caelo ubi neque erugo neque tinea
demolitur et ubi fures non effodiunt.

The above is St. Matthew's Gospel, ch. vi, vs. 19 & 20, the final two words of 20 omitted. It is word for word as in the Vulgate except that the Vulgate has *aerugo* where the Book of Kells has *ergo* (2nd line) and *erugo* (5th line). The verses, it will be noticed, are distinct, but, unless this, there are no punctuation marks. The English translation is the same in all Bibles with verbal differences :

VI. 19. "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth : where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal.
20. But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven : where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through [nor steal]"—Rheims Version.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE COUNTY CAVAN.

By E. R. McC. Dix, M.R.I.A.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

The chief printing in the County Cavan was in the County town itself. But the first item of printing there immediately raises a question as to date. Many years ago I contributed to the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (Vol. VIII.—1902—p. 23) particulars of the earliest item of Cavan printing, and its curious and uncertain date given in Roman letters, and for the information of the Society I reproduce that now in the Appendix. Since then I have found no explanation of the date. Perhaps some reader may be able to suggest a date. If one could trace the *Ireland* family in Cavan, the matter could be cleared up, no doubt, particularly as the second item of printing was done by William Ireland & Son, who must have been relatives of "Henry Ireland." I contributed to the *Irish Book Lover* in different sections the subjoined list of Cavan printing. It does not extend beyond the year 1867, and I hope that some member of the Society may be able to carry it further. Looking through that List, very much of it is rather uninteresting and ephemeral ; still, it is necessary to record everything, good and bad, if we would judge of the printing in any particular place. Members of this Society will, no doubt, recognise local names in some authors of pamphlets, etc. It is interesting to see that the Newspaper Press began over a hundred years ago in Cavan, but apparently the first paper, "The Cavan Herald," ceased, and then reappeared in a different form. I believe the Journal entitled "The Anglo-Celt" has continued steadily ever since it first appeared in 1846, just before the Famine. I hope this List may prove of some interest to the Members.

COOTEHILL

But there was also printing in Cootehill at one time, more, in fact, than a century ago, when "Paul Parks" was given as a printer there. But nothing from his Press have I met. This was in 1816. Eight years later, in *Pigott's Directory* for 1824, "Sarah Parks," probably the widow of Paul, is given as a printer.

Then the only existing piece of Cootehill printing that I have met appears under the date 1829, of which, I presume, Sarah

Parks was the printer. The name of "Parks" as a printer appears in other towns in Ulster, for example, in Downpatrick, Newry, Dundalk, Dromore. So perhaps the Parks family moved up from Cootehill, or relatives were in the printing business. I hope some member of the Society in Cootehill can trace the matter further.

There was a printer also in Belturbet in 1894, according to *Slater's Directory* for that year.

THE TOWN OF CAVAN.

1813. Poems. James Martin. (William Ireland & Son). 12mo. 164pp. and 1 leaf (errata).
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1042/7.)

1816. Poems on various Subjects. 1st Ed. 12mo.
(*Vide* O'Donoghue's "Poets of Ireland" under "James Martin.")

1816. Poems on various Subjects. James Martin. 2nd Ed. (*James O'Brien*). 12mo. 200pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1097.)

1816. Song Book. An admired Song called "Cead Mila Fealta," to which is added, "Sweet Bridget Fumeau", "The Exile of Erin," and "The Soldier's Return." Woodcut. (*James O'Brien*) 12mo. 8pp.
(Brit. Mus: Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1816. An Explanation of the Church Catechism, intended more particularly for the instruction of young children. (*James O'Brien*) 8vo. 64pp. 1st. Ed.
(R.I.A./T. Box 592/16.)

1816. (*James O'Bryan*)—Sic—
(*Vide* List of Subscribers to Fallon's Geography, Newry.)

1816. (Song Book.) The Death of Abercrombie, to which is added Heigho, said a Maid as she sat at a Gate, Ellen a Roon, A Red Rose, The Birks of Aberfeldy, Green Grow the Rushes, and Wilt Thou be My Dearie. Woodcut. "Printed in the present year." 12mo. 8pp.
(Brit. Mus.; Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1818. The Memoirs of Mrs. Dorothy Johnson, late of Lisburn, &c., &c. The Rev. Adam Averill, A.B. (*James O'Brien*) 12mo. 118pp.
(Nat. Lib. (Joly); R. R. Belshaw.)

1818. An Exhortation to a devout and constant observance of Family Worship, Addressed by a Clergyman to his Parishioners. (*James O'Brien*). 12mo. 38pp.
(Brit. Mus.)

1818. Dec. The Cavan Herald.
(*Vide* Dublin Journal of 9th Dec., 1818.)

1819. Passages of Scripture referred to in the Explanation of the Church Catechism. (*James O'Brien.*) 12mo. 86 pp.
(R.I.A./T. Box 400/2.)

1820. Dec. 29. The Cavan Herald and Inland General Advertiser. Vol. 3. No. 526. Friday. (Printed at the "Herald" Office, Farnham St. for Geo. W. Busteed, Proprietor). Four pages of four columns each. Twice weekly, Tuesdays and Fridays.
(Nat. Lib./Scraps.)

1821. Jan. 2. The Cavan Herald, &c. Vol. 3. No. 527. Tuesday. ("Herald" Office.) 4pp. of four columns each.
(Nat. Lib./Scraps.)

1821. An Explanation of the Church Catechism, intended more particularly for the instruction of children. (*James O'Brien.*) 12mo. 64pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1206/3.)
N.B.—2nd issue; see 1816.

1821. (*James O'Brien.* (25) Printer and Stationer.* 161 Main St. (Apprentice, Rd. Doakey (20).
Wm. Ward (18). Apprentice to the Printing Business, 72 Main St.
Joseph Livingston (16) Outdoor Apprentice to a Printer.
Thomas Livingston (14) do. do.
29 Bridge St.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1822. The Cavan Herald.
(*Vide* Parliamentary Return.)

1824. The Cavan Herald. Vol. I. No. 2. Sept. 2nd. Tuesday. Fol. (10 — 7) pp. 25-48. Two columns in a page. Weekly. (G. Wright.)
(T.C.D.)
N.B.—A New Journal in smaller form.

---

* This firm flourished in Cavan for three generations. At a parliamentary election held about the 'fifties, on the very morning of the poll one of the candidates mysteriously disappeared. An election rhyme, wittily hitting off his supporters' chagrin, preserves the founder's name —

Lost, stolen, or strayed
From Father M'Quaid,
The Liberal Candidate Winter.
The Reward of a sovereign
Will be paid by M'Govern,
Or Shan na Boc,
Or Peter the Cock,
Or by Jimmy O'Brien the Printer.

The individuals referred to were among the most respectable and influential people in Cavan in those days. M'Govern was the well-known Attorney M'Govern.—Ed.

1824. Same. Vol. I., No. 4, Sept. 21st. Tuesday. pp. 73-96. (G. Wright).
(T.C.D.)

1824. James O'Brien (Printer and Stationer), Proprietor of Cavan Herald, &c., Main St., and Geo. W. Busteed, Farnham St.
(*Vide* Pigott's Directory.)

1827. Leger Lessons: designed chiefly for the use of Schools, &c. J. McCaffry. (J. O'Brien) 8vo. 50pp.
(R.I.A./T. : Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1827. Playbills of "Theatre, Kells." S. Shs. Fol. (J. O'Brien.) Jan. to Mar. (R.I.A.)

1828. Report of a Meeting held in Navan on the 27th of Decr. for the purpose of establishing a branch of the Reformation Society. (W. Johnston.) 8vo. 42pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1420/1)

1831. An Easy and Close Exposition of the Church Catechism. The Rev. James Collins. (James O'Brien) 24mo. 24pp. plus cover.
(Nat. Lib.—Tracts.)

1831. A Defence of Roman Catholic Principles, or, An Answer to a Pamphlet entitled "A Plain Statement of the Doctrines," etc., etc. Michael Mooney. 12mo. 106pp. (No printer's name is given.)
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1503/3.)

1837. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments Spring Assizes, etc. (James O'Brien.) 8vo. 48pp. plus 12pp.
(Nat. Lib.—Pamphlets. Vol. 179/8.)

1837. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments Summer Assizes, etc. (James O'Brien.) 8vo. 58pp. plus 14 pp. + 16 pp.
(Nat. Lib.—Pamphlets. Vol.175/3.)

1839. An Address to the Inhabitants of the County of Cavan from the Committee of the County Auxiliary Bible Society. (William Johnston.) 12mo. 12pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1742/6.)

1840. County of Cavan: Abstract of Presentments granted at Summer Assizes, 1840. (James O'Brien at the Co. Printing Office.) 8vo. 104pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1790/1).

1842. The First Letter to his Roman Catholic Parishioners. Rev. J. Collins, B.D. (William Johnston) 12mo. 18pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1828/8.)

1842. Report of the County of Cavan Auxiliary to the Hibernian Bible Society for the year 1841. (William Johnston). 12mo. 16pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 1845/19)

1846. William Johnston and James O'Brien, Main St.
(*Vide* Slater's Directory)

1846. The Anglo-Celt. No. 1, etc.
Feb. 6 to 1900. (Brit. Mus./N.)

1850. Royal Descents from Henry III. and subsequent Kings of England of Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley Marchioness of Athole. 24cm. (William Johnston.)
(Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)

1850. Royal Descents of Henry Maxwell, K.P., Seventh Lord Farnham from Henry III, Edward I, and the subsequent Kings of England, etc. (William Johnston) 8vo. 38pp.
(Brit. Mus; Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)

1850. Seize Quartiers connected with the Royal Descent of Henry Maxwell, K.P., Seventh Lord Farnham. (William Johnston). 8vo. 86pp.
(Brit. Mus.; Dr. J. S. Crone—iv. and 85pp.)

1851. Report of the County of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society (William Johnston). 12mo. 16 pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1852. The Sixth Report of the County of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston). 8vo. 26pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1852. Civil and Religious Liberty. The Case of the Madiai. A Letter to the R.C. Clergy of the Diocese of Kilmore. The Rev. Wm. P[rior] Moore, A.M.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2. 13/11.)

1852. A Reply to the Letter of the Rev. Wm. P[rior] Moore, A.M., on the Madiai Case. The Rev. M. McQuaid, P.P. (James O'Brien). 12mo. 12pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2113/12.)

1853. A Reply to the Letter of the Rev. Mr. McQuaid, P.P.—Revd. W. P. Moore. (James O'Brien) 12mo. 22pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2131/5.)

1853. Seventh Report of the County of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 24pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1854. The Anglo-Celt. 5th Jan., vol. VII., No. 309. New Series, 4pp. 6 cols. Price per ann., £1. Printed and Published every Thursday by Zachariah Wallace, Main St., Cavan.
(Brit. Mus.)

1854. Eighth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 30pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1854. Third Address to the Parishioners of Belturbet. (The Rev. A. McCreight.) (William Johnston.) 12mo. 32pp.
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1854. A Reply to the Letter of Rev. A. McCreight. (The Rev. P. Gilray, C.C.) (James O'Brien) sm. 8vo. 20pp.
(R.I.A./H.P. Vol. 2150/9.)

1855. Ninth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston). 8vo. 28pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1855. Fourth Address to the Parishioners of Belturbet. Rev. A. McCreight. 8vo. 38pp. (William Johnston).
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1856. Tenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 44pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1857. Eleventh Report of the Co. Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 42pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1857. The Anglo-Celt & Midland Advertiser. Weekly. Saturdays.
(*Vide* Layton's Handy Newspaper List.)

1857. The Cavan Observer. July 11 to Oct. 29, 1864. No. 1, etc.
(Brit Mus./N.)

1858. Twelfth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 42pp. & cover.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett).

1859. Thirteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnson) 8vo. 48pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1860. Fourteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society. (William Johnston) 8vo. 48pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1860. The Form to be used at the Consecration of Churches. (William Johnston) 8vo. 20pp. and leaflet inset after the title-leaf.
(T.C.D./Gall. 2..t. 33/18.)

1860. Hope: An Essay. Charles Foy. (John Fegan) 8vo. 14pp. plus cover.
(R.I.A./T. Box. 544/35.)

1860. Farnham Descents from Henry III. and the subsequent Kings of England in three parts. Henry Maxwell, Seventh Lord Farnham. Large Fol. (Thomas J. Smyth.)
Part I. T.L. and four folded sheets of Pedigree plus 1 leaf.
Part II. T.L. and 21 folding sheets of Pedigree.
Part III. General T.L. and Separate T.L. and folding sheets of Pedigree and 1 leaf (Pt. of Pedigree).
(Lough Fea: Dr. Crone.)
Note :—Printed on one side of each sheet.

1861. Fifteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, instituted A.D. 1844 (being for 1860). (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 44pp. and paper cover plus 2 leaves printed. (Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1862. (John Fegan)
(*Vide* Label)

1862. Sixteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 44pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett)

1863. Seventeenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth, 100 Main St.) 8vo. 42pp. & cover. (Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1864. The Cavan Weekly News. Dec. 16, to 1900. Fridays. No 1, etc. Wants one number
(B.M./N.)

1864. An Easy & Close Exposition of the Church Catechism. Fourth Ed. Rev. Jas. Collins. 24mo. 23pp. & 1p. (blank) & cover. (Jas. O'Brien).
(Nat. Lib./Dix.)

1864. Eighteenth Report of the Co. of Cavan Protestant Orphan Society, etc. (Thomas J. Smyth) 8vo. 48pp.
(Rev. R. S. Maffett.)

1865. Opinions on Mr. Dalton's and Mr. Carden's Pamphlets on the Irish Question. Wm. Armitage Moore. Catalogue of T.A. Library, Philadelphia, Pa. (John Fegan) 8vo. 12pp. (R.I.A./T. Box 567/26.)

1867. Speeches and Letters on Tenant Right. The Rev. John Boylan, P.P.
(Catalogue of T.A. Library, Philadelphia.)

1867. Pastoral Letter to the Laity of the United Dioceses of Kilmore, Elphin and Ardagh. The Rt. Rev. Hamilton Verschoyle, Bishop of Kilmore. (John Fegan, 19 Main St. 19cn.) (Univ. Lib. Camb./B.)

APPENDIX.

Until lately the earliest item of Cavan printing I had met with was dated 1813, the printers of which were William Ireland & Son. An examination of the Joly Collection of Pamphlets in the National Library, Dublin, brought to light another item of printing in this town which clearly belongs to the eighteenth century, although the date—MDCCIXO—is at present somewhat of an enigma. On the title page someone has written "1709" under the letters, but I very much doubt if this date is correct, for the O after the X seems to me to be rather a mistake for some other letter. James Buckley suggests "1790" as the date. The pamphlet is an imprint of a transcript from a document which is said to have been made in "1699". There is otherwise no date contained in it to afford any indication of the exact year of its

issue. There is also written on the third page a vague reference to the "late Road Act passed at the last meeting of Parliament," and a Section of the Act is quoted in full. There were several Irish Road Acts passed during the course of the eighteenth century, and it might be possible, but a work of some labour (inasmuch as the date of the Act or the number of the Section is not stated), to identify the particular Act referred to by the Section so given. However, even judging alone from the printing, the paper, and to some extent from the quarto form of this pamphlet, there can be no question but that it was printed in the eighteenth century; whether early in it or late still remains to be definitely shown. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw light on the subject and also to explain what a "Carvagh" was.*

It is remarkable, too, that the printer's name should have been Ireland. I have repeatedly found that printing in our provincial towns remained in the hands of one family for two or three generations. Henry Ireland may, therefore, have been the father of William Ireland, mentioned as printing in Cavan in 1813.

"MDCCIXO" (1709 or 1790 ?)† A List of the several Baronies and Parishes in the County of Cavan with all the Denominations of Land in each Parish, Alphabetically arranged. Together with Carvaghs contained in each Denomination: Carefully extracted from an Original Manuscript.
(Henry Ireland) 4to. (cut down.) Title leaf plus 66 numbered pages.
Signatures A—R in twos or followise. No signature J.
(National Library.—Joly.)

(N.B. Mr. J. J. Matthews, late of Virginia, also has a copy.)

COOTEHILL.

1816. (Paul Parks.)
(*Vide* List of Subscribers to "Fallon's Geography": Newry.)

1821. N.B.—In 1821 Sarah Parks, Widow, was living (with her children) in 47 Market Street.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

1824. (Sarah Parks, Market Square.)
(*Vide* Pigot's Directory.)

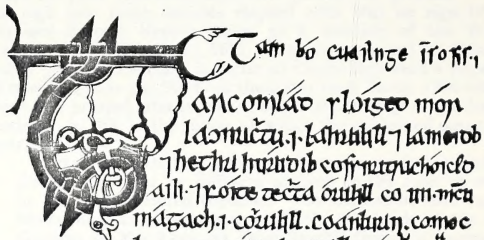
1829. Rockcorry *Brunswick* Constitutional Club. Resolutions passed at a Meeting on 6th Jan., 1829. A large Broadside (or Poster). Printed on one side only. (Parks.)
(John Robinson) Comber.

1841. Bernard McKenna (32) 10 Old Cavan Street. *Printer* & Bookseller, Native of Co. Monaghan.
(*Vide* Census Return.)

E. R. McC. DIX.

* See p. 187 this Journal. † See Article by "An Scoláire Bocht," p. 324

PART OF A PAGE OF AN IRISH MS. CIRCA 1100.



From "LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRE.

The existing MS. of the *Leabhar na h'Uidhre* [pronounced Lowar na Heera], or Book of the Dun Cow, is one of the treasures of the R.I.A. It is written on very old vellum. It is a fragment; but the fragment if printed would fill 500 pages of such a book as O'D.'s F.M. It was compiled about the year 1100 in Clonmacnoise by Maelmuire, son of Conn of the Poor. Maelmuire was killed in 1106 "in the middle of the great stone church of Cluainmacnois, by a party of robbers." (F.M.). The above is a specimen of his handwriting.

The MS. was in Connacht in the 14th c. Not unlikely it was in Dromahair, for Sigraidh O'Cuirnin, a member of the hereditary family of Breifnian historians, wrote something in it in a blank space in 1345. Accordingly, Sigraidh's penmanship is also extant. The O'Donnells recovered the book —this identical book—from the people of Connacht by force of arms. (See O'Curry's *MS. Mat.* and Hyde's *Lit. Hist.*)

[For this illustration, as well as for the two of the Book of Kells, the Society is indebted to the great kindness of the Dublin Publishers, Messrs. Gill & Son.].

AN ANCIENT IRISH MS.:

"THE BOOK OF THE MACGAURANS OR McGOVERNS."

By the Rev. J. B. McGovern.

[Read 26th October, 1922.]

In May, 1896, a paper, entitled "Ancient Gaelic Book or MS. of Thomas MacSamhradhain," was read to a Liverpool Literary Society by J. H. McGovern, Esq., L.R.I.B.A., Architect in that city, which appropriately appraised the MS. as

> The muniment of title of the Clan MacGauran, or McGovern, to their Cantred or Barony of Tullyhaw (Teallach Eachdhach), and of supreme value to the genealogist and topographer as defining the ancient limits of the territories of the Clan.

This passage supplied me with the first intimation I had of the existence of this remarkable MS., and acted as a stimulus to a further investigation of its nature and history. Accordingly, I discovered at the outset of my quest, that a description of it (apparently the first) was contributed by the late Sir J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., to the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1871, p. 223, and runs thus:—

> MS. in the Irish language on Vellum, fifty-four pages folio, in double columns, imperfect at beginning and end. The penmanship is excellent, but the Vellum is dark and defaced in some places. From a note on the first page, we learn that this book was transcribed by Adam O'Cianan for Thomas, son of Brian Mac Samhradhain, apparently the chief of the territory of Teallach Eachdhach, in the north-west of the present County of Cavan, whose death is chronicled by the Four Masters under the year 1343. The contents consist mainly of poems on the genealogies, achievements, and liberality of the Chiefs of Teallach Eachdhach and their relatives.

After enumeration by name of five chiefs, three wives, and fourteen authors of the poems, Sir J. T. Gilbert adds:—

> The Volume also contains various pieces in prose on the territories, rents, and genealogies of the Sept Mac Samhradhain and the families with whom its members were allied. In it we likewise find miscellaneous writings, among which are tracts on the kindred of Christ, the parentage of Mary Magdalen, the names of the Twelve Apostles, the rites of the Church, the letters of the alphabet, divination, etc. There does not appear to have been any account hitherto published of this manuscript. Some of the poems which it contains are the only productions at present known of their authors, and the volume may be regarded as a valuable accession to the collections of the native literature of Ireland of the 14th century.

Twenty-one years later (1892) Sir Gilbert referred to the MS. in the Thirteenth Report (p. 56), hoping, "so soon as the arrangements of your Commissioners will permit, to proceed." But well-nigh two more decades elapsed with still no sign of the promised Second Report when, at a meeting of the British Academy held on March 22, 1911, the much-lamented Dr. Edmund Crosby Quiggin, Lecturer in Celtic at Cambridge, read a paper on "Prolegomena to the Study of the Later Irish Bards, 1200-1500," which was printed later in vol. v. of the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, p. 102, in the course of which the subjoined paragraph occurs:—

> Certain it is that in a number of cases we find a cycle of poems addressed by different authors to the ruler or rulers of one clan collected together. The earliest of such family books now in existence is probably the book of the Mac Governs or Mac Gaurans (Mac Samhradhain), a fourteenth century vellum, in the possession of the O'Conor Don, a fragment of a larger book.

And in the "Addenda" (p. 142) the Doctor further states:—

> The Magauran Book was transcribed by Adam O'Cianan for Thomas Magauran, who, according to the Four Masters, was slain in the year 1343. A stanza on p. 50 affords the only literary evidence with which I am acquainted that the better-known families maintained books in which eulogies of their race were entered. I give the verse according to a transcript made by Joseph O'Longan in 1869, which the O'Conor Don kindly deposited for use in the Cambridge University Library in February, 1913:—
>
> Ni hinarw duchas dhiunde
> 'Sdu daimh ri fleag findbaille
> Seach dhau gach daime oile
> I an dar ndaine a duanoire.

Ignorant at the time of Dr. Quiggin's paper, I communicated in the May of that year (1911) with the Right Hon. The O'Conor Don, and insert here a few sentences from his prompt and gracious reply:—

> I had no difficulty whatever in identifying the MS. to which you refer. It is kept in a safe here (Clonalis, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon) and although very much discoloured is in a good state of preservation. I have, in addition, a beautifully executed facsimile copy of the original, which is an

exact copy, even down to the formation of the letters. The copy, which would of course be the easiest to work with, is on parchment, and I had it bound a few months ago. Some portions of the original are *now* so black as to be almost impossible to decipher, but have been reproduced quite clearly in the copy. I believe my father, with the assistance of the late Dr. O'Donovan, had the copy made so as to preserve the record, as the original showed signs of failing. . . . . If suitable arrangements could be made, I would be willing to lend the MS., subject to provision for its safe custody.

In my next effort to bring this MS. into prominence and to the notice of the Irish Texts Society, I consulted, in the following month, Miss Eleanor Hull, its Secretary, by whom I was informed that nothing could be done in the matter [of editing an edition and translation of the Book] "until we get the report from Prof. Quiggin as to the value to the public of these poems."

Another interval of ominous silence of well-nigh three years transpired (during which, however, O'Longan's transcript had been deposited in Cambridge University Library). I again (Jan., 1914) approached Miss Hull, who supplied me with additional interesting items concerning the fate of our MS.:—

> I don't think it is at all forgotten. Several poems from it have recently been published, and others will no doubt appear from time to time. Dr. Quiggin published a long poem from it last August in a collection of papers presented to Prof. Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday. The book was for some time lent by the O'Conor Don to Dr. Hyde. He may have it still.

In the following November I addressed Dr. Quiggin himself, and received the following reply, dated November 10th 1914, from Great Shelford, Cambridge:—

> I examined it (the MS.) carefully at Castlerea in August, 1912. It is very difficult to read in parts, and is much stained. There are about forty leaves of Vellum. The present O'Conor Don's father had a transcript of it made about 1870 by O'Longan, of which I myself have made a full copy. But as the pages of the original are so hard to decipher in parts, my transcript will have to be very carefully compared with the original as soon as an opportunity arises. The earliest chieftain celebrated in any of the poems lived in the 13th century. These family books all contain poetry very difficult to interpret, and the compositions in this particular case are extremely tough. They will require a great deal of study, more especially as none of the pieces occur in any other collection, as far as I am aware. It is my present intention to publish the whole text of the book if we survive this war. I am only waiting for leisure to pay another visit to Roscommon, and to traverse some of the region which your ancestors ruled over in order to familiarize myself with the topography. . . . . At this moment my transcript is deposited in the strong room of my college.

Here, as I thought, the first goal of my ambition was reached, in that an admittedly valuable manuscript was in prospect of rescue from an inglorious oblivion, and of deliverance to the world by a competent hand. But, alas, for a frustrated hope, for the tragic death of Dr. Quiggin, at the early age of forty-four, on January 10, 1920, brought the prospect to an untimely end. Thus for two more years was the project unavoidably suspended, when I felt it incumbent upon me to make a final effort in this important and congenial cause. Accordingly, I again communicated with Miss Eleanor Hull and Dr. Douglas Hyde and, somewhat curiously, received their replies on the same day, October 6, 1922, from which I excerpt the subjoined passages.

Miss Hull says with regard to this MS.: "It is not now likely that the Irish Texts Society will undertake any special publication of its contents. We have had a long run of Bardic Poetry, and when Miss Knott's and Prof. O'Donoghue's collections are out we must turn to other works. A correct and full account of this MS. would, of course, be most interesting."

This was discouraging enough, but worse came from Dr. Hyde, who regrets that, owing to his eyes not being very strong, he could not undertake it.

> There is not [he writes] the slightest chance of the book being published now, since Dr. Quiggin died. At least, I don't know anyone else who would do it. It was exceedingly difficult [to read]. . . . . I did print a little prose extract on Divination (evidently from a Latin source) at p. 222 of the *Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie Band X.* If Dr. Quiggin made a complete copy, then whoever takes up the work, if anyone does, should get hold of it. I wish I could do the thing myself, but I cannot. . . . .

Thus do my hopes and labours of some twenty-six years lie buried in the grave of Edmund Crosby Quiggin in far-off Surrey. Whether they will ever be resuscitated to renewed life and vigour is a secret that lies in the womb of futurity. Meanwhile, it is a considerable gain to be able to mark the places where this venerable MS. and its transcripts are housed.

As a complementary appendix to the above I add some interesting details relating to the first two authors of these transcripts.

I. *Adam O'Cianain* (*or Cianan*). But little is known of this apparently diligent scribe beyond these curt obits, under date 1373:—

Four Masters:—"Adam O'Cianain, a Canon and learned historian, died at Lisgool [Abbey, beside Enniskillen.]"

Annals of Ulster.—"Adam Ua Cianain died this year a Canon after being tonsured by the Canons of Lisgabhail [Lisgool], on gaining victory from the world and from the demon."

Annals of Loch Cé—"Adam O'Cianain, an eminent historian, died a Canon at Lisgabhail."

Applications to other sources for further items regarding this ecclesiastical Seanachie only resulted in the following note from Prof. Bergin, of Dublin University College :—

> I am sorry I have not been able to find out any information about O'Cianain beyond what is in the Annals. He seems to have been the scribe of part of a MS. numbered 23.0.4 in the Royal Irish Academy, for at the foot of page 5 are the words *Adam O' Cianain do sgrib an duain* ('it was Adam O'Cianain who transcribed the poem'). O'Curry refers to this in his MS. Academy Catalogue, p. 30, but he gives no particulars about the scribe, merely referring to the entry in F.M. 1373.

O'Curry also was of opinion, according to the editors of Vol. II of *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, "that the law tracts in MS. Rawlinson, B. 506, in the Bodelian were written by O'Cianain in a fine clear hand, like that in the Book of Ballymote, but better." Mr. F. Madan, however, told me that in his opinion, "the connection of MS. Rawl. B. 506 with O'Cianain is a fanciful conjecture of Prof. O'Curry, who thought he recognized the handwriting, a very slippery form of judgment. There is no hint of the scribe's name, but the date would suit, being about A.D. 1400." I may respectfully venture to endorse the "judgment" of an Irish expert, so eminent as O'Curry, in preference to that of an English one who himself admits the suitability of the dates. The editors of the *Ancient Laws* further state that O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*, p. 102) says that he had in his possession two volumes in vellum, in the handwriting of this O'Keenan [sic], one of which was a copy of ancient laws. I have been unable to obtain any confirmation of this statement. In all probability this is about all we shall ever learn of this scribe's literary activities. Dr. Quiggin in his last letter to me (July 5th, 1915), wrote: "I know nothing of the MSS. transcribed by O'Cianain."

II. Another scribe of no less diligence, though more modern, was *Joseph O'Longan*, the first copyist of our MS. for the O'Conor Don in 1869. Officially connected with the R.I.A.'s Department of Irish Manuscripts, he transcribed, also in 1869, the *Leabhar na h-Olliabri*, and, in 1872–6, the *Leabhar Breac*, both edited and published by Sir J. T. Gilbert, who says in his Preface to the former work that it is "the oldest volume known entirely in the Irish language, and is regarded as the chief surviving literary monument, not ecclesiastical, of ancient Ireland."

I failed to discover any further reference to either O'Cianan, or O'Longan in Webb's *Compendium* or elsewhere.

Thomas Mac Samhradhain, according to Dr. Quiggin, is recorded by the F. M. as slain in 1343. But O'Donovan's edition (1851) simply states that "Thomas Magauran, Chief of Teallach Eachahach, died [decc]."

The Annals of Ulster (Mac Carthy's ed.) has: 1343—"Thomas Mag Samradhain, unique choice of the chiefs of Ireland, died." In a note the editor explains that he was Lord of Tellach Echach (barony of Tullyhaw, County Cavan).

The Annals of Loch Cé (Hennessey's ed.): "Thomas Mac Samradhain, Dux of Teallach Echach, quievit."

The last form of entry is interesting as a variant, and that preceding it as supplying a solitary scrap of biography, though the phrase (*aenragu taisac Erenn, mortuus est*) is obscure, possibly pointing to a ratification, under the laws of Tanistry, of the election of Thomas to the tribal chieftaincy.

It only remains to be added that the bulk of this paper appeared in *Notes and Queries*, July 22, 1916 (12S/ii/65) under the same title, though arranged differently and with less matter. Allusion was also made to our MS. in two articles I contributed to *The Antiquary* in October and November, 1901, under the heading "The Ancient Barony of Teallach Eachach", and heralded by a couplet from O'Dugan's *Top. Hist. Poem*, 1372 :—

> Magh Samhradain Snaidhn go neart
> Air Theallach Eachaidh oir dheire.
> Mac Gauran, the Mainstay of Strength,
> Rules over the noble Tullaghaw.

J. B. McGovern.

EXHIBITS AT SIXTH MEETING.

26th October, 1922.

A Carved Stone Head.—It was discovered near the old Church on Trinity Island. The face is life-size. It is like that of a young person or of a female. It may have served as the top or corbel of a pillar. On the extremities of a cornice over the main door of Ballinagh Church are two carved heads. They represent mitred bishops or abbots. One of these is said to have also come from Trinity, which is in the same parish; and then the other was chiselled to correspond with it. But for neither statement is there yet sufficient authentication.

—Shown by MR. REID.

A Bronze Celt.—It is of the flat or oldest type. O'Curry terms these Firbolg Celts (*Manners and Customs*). The socketed Celt, which is a great improvement, he attributes to their successors, the Dedannans, whose ingenious craftsmanship, and consequent prowess, was ascribed to magic. The Celt exhibited was found this year in the townland of Crosserlough in the parish of same name by Mr. Henry Galligan.

—Shown by MR. M'GENNIS, Kilnaleck.

A Wild Boar's Head.—This was discovered about thirty years ago in a boggy spot near Swellan Lake, beside Cavan, by young Mr. Fegan, of Glenlara House, who is well remembered as an athlete. A stone arrow-head, which doubtless caused the death, was embedded in the skull. This circumstance renders the find peculiarly interesting. The peat preserved the head. Its size and shape as well as the number of the sockets for the teeth and tusks (which have all dropped out) determine unmistakably the kind of the animal. Many heads of the Irish elk, an extinct Stone Age species of deer of gigantic size, have been come upon in the County Cavan, and they are valued for their immense antlers; few of wild boars' are known. In ancient Ireland, as the old tales show, chasing the wild boar was a favourite sport and a dangerous one. In England as late as the 11th century game laws protected it. In Germany and elsewhere, where there are still great forests, the sport continues to the present day.

The arrow end mentioned was sent to a Dublin museum, but the head has been carefully kept in Glenlara.

THE PARISH OF LURGAN AND THE TOWN OF VIRGINIA.

SOME NOTES ON THEIR HISTORY.

By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

The present ecclesiastical parish of Lurgan coincides, except for a few legal adaptations, with the old civil parish of the same name. The Down Survey Map (1654) has Lurgan, Castlerahan, and Munterconnacht marked as separate parishes. The Commonwealth Grants (1669) group Lurgan and Munterconnacht together and give Castlerahan by itself. In this year Rev. Eber Burch was Incumbent of all three. He was living in Virginia in 1664, as may be inferred from the Hearth Money Rolls of that year. These records (1664) give the parish of Castlerahan and Munterconnacht as a unit and Lurgan separately. These parishes do not seem to have been definitely established as ecclesiastically distinct in the 17th century. We have already noted (Journal, p. 25) that Rev. George Creighton was appointed Rector of Lurgan and Moybolge on October 4th, 1619, and continued to hold these livings in 1643. His successor, Rev. Eber Burch, is seen to have been Rector of Castlerahan, Lurgan, and Munterconnacht in 1669. As many of the livings during this period were pluralities there was little need to fix definitely the parish boundaries. The Down Survey (1654) may be accepted as the surest guide in this respect. Munterconnacht, which was the older tribal division, appears to have been always recognised as a separate parish. Lurgan and Castlerahan were ecclesiastically one at the beginning of the 18th century, or at least in 1704 Rev. Edmund Smith was Parish Priest of both. Munterconnacht was then a distinct parish as Rev. Matthew Sheerin was P.P. in the same year.

In pre-Reformation times "Hospitals" existed in Lurgan, Munterconnacht, and Castlerahan and appear to have served as Parish Churches. The ruins of these three Hospitals, suppressed in the end of the 16th c. are still to be seen. Of the Church of Munterconnacht barely the foundations can now be traced, but substantial remains exist of the churches of both Lurgan and Castlerahan. Each of them was well supplied with Termon lands, clearly indicating that each represented a separate parish as early as the 15th c.

The exigencies of the times following the Reformation caused

some of the parishes to be grouped together. But this was merely a temporary expedient, and the relaxation of the Penal Laws was the signal for a reversion to the old order. The adjoining parishes of Lurgan and Castlerahan although ecclesiastically united at the beginning of the 18th c. appear to have been disconnected shortly afterwards. This is indicated by the old Virginia Register which commences with 1755 and records for the present parish of Lurgan alone.

In the 16th c. the O'Reillys were the proprietors of the greater part of the Barony of Castlerahan. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* mentions a castle of theirs at Ballaghanea. When Brian McPhelim O'Reilly's lands of Aghelerr were confiscated in 1590 (p. 219) this castle of Ballaghanea appears to have fallen into disuse. It is described as "ruinous" some years later in the Plantation Grants of 1610. The O'Reilly just mentioned most probably was the last of his clan to hold and inhabit the castle. The *Fiants* of Eliz. (1591) also record "Aghleere in the Barony of Castleraghyn, Co. Cavan, two polls or cartrons, forfeited by the attainder of Brian O'Relye, 2 shillings." The Inquisition held at Cavan on 19th Sept., 1590, (*for a copy of it see the Journal, p.* 216) to enquire into the lands "concealed, withdrawn, and unlawfully detained" from the Queen, has the following notice of same, "And they say also that the townland of Aghelerr in the Barony of Castlerahin containing two polls pertain and ought to pertain to the said Queen by reason of the attainder of Brian McPhelim O'Reyle and are worth two shillings per annum." Ballaghanea Castle was repaired and used as a residence by Capt. Ridgeway when he obtained the grant of this district in 1610.

The exact location of the principal families in the parish of Lurgan in the 16th c. can be ascertained by an examination of the *Fiants* of Eliz. (P.R.O. Dublin). These *Fiants* are of interest as being the earliest lists recording the names of the principal people living in the various districts. As the lists are very extensive we will limit ourselves to those of immediate interest.

1584. (24th November).

CAPPANY.—Brian McTurlagh McFarry O'Rely, Melaghen Boy McBriane O'Lynce, Brian McMahowna McDonell O'Lynce, Edm. Boy McBryen Moyle O'Rely, Ferrall McEdm. McCahill More O'Rely, Brian McRich. O'Rely, Philip McTirelagh O'Lynce, Cahill McGillepatrick O'Serrydane, Patrick McHugh O'Sladdy, Conoghor McHugh Duffe O'Lynce, Connor McCowchonnaght O'Lynce, Owen McBryen O'Rely, Brien McOwen, Bryan McShane McBryen, Donogh McShane, Hugh McShane McBrian O'Rely, Cahir McConnor O'Rely, Glassne McConnor McBryen O'Rely, Brian McConnor O'Relye, Ferrall McThomas McGarrot, Shane McThomas, Edm. McMulmory O'Rely, Thos. McEdm. O'Rely, Cahir O'Rely, Edm. McFeilim O'Rely, Shane McCahir.

PARTY.—Donell McConnor O'Rely, Catherine Beetaghe, Hugh McGlassny O'Rely, Edm. McBryen, Turlagh Boy McBrien O'Rely, Cahir McJames Oge, Hugh McJames Oge O'Rely, Owen McShane O'Rely, Tho. McShane O'Rely, Hugh McShane O'Rely, Brian McMulmory O'Rely, Garret McMulmory, Feilym McMulmory, Shane McOwen O'Rely, Connor McOwen O'Rely, Gerrot McOwen O'Rely, Mulmory McOwen O'Rely, Edm. McOwen O'Rely, Cahill Boy McShane O'Rely, Ferrall McThomas Oge, Mulmory McTirlagh.

FARTAGH.—Glasne McCahill and Shane McCahill O'Reyle.

MINTERCHONACHI (Muinterchonnacht).—Thomas McShane O'Reyle, Hugh McGeralt O'Reyle, and Mulmory O'Reyle.

CARNE.—Feilim McJames, Owen McPhelim, James McPhelim.

EDENPORT.—Bryan McEdmond, Connor O'Multully, Hugh McBryan Bane O'Rely, Cahir McGillysa O'Rely, Mulmory McGillysa O'Rely, Donell McGillysa O'Rely, Shane McHugh O'Rely, James McHugh O'Rely, Tirlagh McGillisa O'Rely, Brian McGillisa O'Rely, Feilim McOwen, Donell McOwen O'Rely.

1586.

CORRELYNANE.—Redmund McDonell Macabbe.

AGHECHASLAINE.—Tirrelagh McGillecriste Macabe (gallowglass).

DROMINEADA.—Mahon McWm. Macabe (gallowglass).

DROMRADA.—Melaghlin McConor Gowe (smith).

AGHELERRE.—Patrick McTyernan McMahon Magernan (kern), Cuconnaght Glass McBreen McDuff McSymon (husbandman), Cuconnaght Glasse McSymon, Ferrall McShian Oge McSymon.

AGHLOUGHANE.—Turrelagh More McTho. McSymon.

CARGIAGH.—Cahill McDonell Duffe McSymon.

NENY.—Phelim McGillapatrick McSymon, Tirrelagh McDonell Brady (husbandmen).

LISLIA.—Brene McCahill McSymon (kern).

BALLEBRUSE.—Shyan McGillese McGlaisney O'Reily, Mulmore McGillese McGlaisney O'Reily, and Owen McGillese McGlaisney O'Reily (gentlemen).

KEILFENLAGH.—Hugh McGerrott McMelmore O'Reily.

MORMADE.—Cahill Oge McSymon (gentleman).

MAGHERREDOWNE.—Owen McBrien O'Reily.

EDENBERTE.—Brene McOwen O'Reilye.

ENNY IN BALLIBRUSE.—Turrelagh McEllegert.

LOURGAN.—Ferrall O' Clearckane (clerk).

MONTERCONNAGHTE.—Coromuck McSymon, Patr. Duft McSymon (kerns), Turlagh Roe McFarrell, Gillepatrick McTurlagh McSheffry O'Lince.

KNOCKNEGIRTANE.—Mulmorie McEdm. O'Relye.

AGHOTEGILL.—Connor McBryen McShane O'Rely.

1592.

AGHOLIRR.—Myllagh McSymon.

AGHONDRONG.—Hugh McBrian Bane O'Reylly.

BEALLAGHNEE.—Shane O'Reighlie.
LISSHLIE.—James O'Reighly.
DONANKERY.—Ferrall O'Reighlie.
MOINTERCHONATY.—Phelym McTho. McShane O'Reyly, Foly McTho. O'Reylly.
AGHOTEGILL.—Connogher McBrien O'Reyly.
COROCLOCHAN.—Edm. McBrian Brady.
DONANKERY.—Ferall McTho. O'Reyly.
MURMOD.—Glasne McTho. O'Reyly, Owen McBrian McFelym O'Reyly.
BALLAGHYNAE.—Shane McHugh McJames O'Reyly, Brian and Tirrelagh McHugh O'Reylie.
LISLIE.—James McHugh O'Reylye.
MOUNTER-CONNAGHT.—Mullmorie McTho. O'Reilie, Gerrot and Edmund McTho. O'Reilie, and Anably O'Reilie.

These lists may be accepted as recording the principal householders at the close of the 16th c. While they cannot at all be regarded as a census, yet they help to locate the principal families in the district on the eve of its confiscation. The *Fiants* were the warrants to Chancery authorising the issue of Letters Patent under the Great Seal, roughly speaking, the Irish equivalent of "signed bill" of English procedure. They were made for grants of land and office, leases of land, charters, commissions, pardons, presentations, etc. These *Fiants* were usually made by the Lord Deputy, either by virtue of his office, or by special instructions from the English Sovereign or the English Council. In cases of leases and wardships they were generally made under specially appointed Commissions with the approval of the Lord Deputy. When Lord Deputy Perrott formed Breffni O'Reilly into the present County of Cavan in 1584 many of the landowners, in order to comply with the new order, surrendered their leases for the purpose of getting new ones and thereby obtaining greater security in their lands. Letters Patent were issued confirming these grants and leases under E. law. This policy of "peaceful penetration" was the first step towards securing the success of the subsequent scheme of Plantation.

In these lists the most numerous names are O'Reilly (under its various spellings) and McSymón (Fitzsimons). MacCabe is of much less frequent occurrence. O'Multully is now Tully and is sometimes anglicised Flood. The change in Christian names had not begun at the time these lists were compiled. The numerous patronymics arose from the necessity of distinguishing the various members of the same clan. The lists will be of special interest when compared with the Hearth Money Rolls of 1664. (See p. 312.)

The townland of Lurgan, from which the parish takes its name, is situated on rising ground, hence the name *Lorga* or *Lorgain*. It means a hill supposed to resemble the shape of a shin (lorga). A rather fanciful folk-derivation explains it as connoting the

supposed burial-place of the shins of Fionn MacCumhaill's mother. The name Lurgan appears in practically the same form in all the 16th and 17th c. documents and State Papers; *Lourgan* (*Fiants* of Eliz. 1586); *Lurgan-losty* (Plantation Map 1609 and Plantation Papers 1610); *Lorgan* (State Papers 1606), *Lurgan* (Archdall's *Mon. Hib.*; Books of Survey and Distribution, 1641; Deposition of Rev. George Creighton, 1643; and Acts of Settlement, 1668); *Largann* (*Excheq. Inquis.*, 1590); *Lurgen* (Friar O'Mellan's *Narrative*, 1643). *Lorgen* (Patent Rolls 1617. 15 Jas. I.) The D. S. Map (1654) has *Lorgan*. The parish church in pre-Reformation times was situated in the tld.* named. Its ruins are still to be seen in the churchyard. It was one of the "Hospitals" of Cavan and will be described afterwards.

The tld. of Ballaghanea, which adjoins Lough Ramor, was, in the year 572†, the scene of a battle between Aedh, son of Ainmire, and Colman Beg Mac Diarmaid, a turbulent King of Meath, in which the latter was slain. He had been reprimanded some time previously for his crimes by St. Canice of Ossory, Patron of Kilkenny City. Some years after this battle St. Canice was travelling in Breffni, in the winter-time, and rested at Ballaghanea. A cross had already been erected there to mark the spot where Colman Beg had been slain. St. Canice repaired to this cross to perform the devotion of None‡. He enquired whose cross this was and was told that it was here Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had fallen in battle. "I remember," said St. Canice, "that I promised him a prayer after his death." Turning his face to the cross he prayed with tears, until the snow and the ice melted around him and he delivered from torments the soul of Colman Beg."§ Although no trace of this cross now exists yet a small hillock called Cnoc Fola or "hill of blood" no doubt preserves the tradition of the battle.

It has already been indicated (Journal, p. 23) that in the general survey of confiscated lands in Cavan carried out by Sir John Davies in 1610 the district of Virginia was assigned to Capt. John Ridgeway. The tlds. constituting his grant of 1,000 acres are given as follows by Hill (*Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343):—

> Lislierty and Gallownegerod, one and a half polls; Carrigneveagh and Coolemonie, one poll; Nenagh, one poll; Eadanport, two polls; Gallownegarrowe, half poll; Necarrigy, one poll; Fertaghyeatra, half poll; Fertaghyowtra, one poll; Cloghvallymore, one poll; Lisleagh, two polls; Cloghballyowtra, one poll; Ballaghanneh, two polls with a ruinous castle; Cloyergoole, one poll; Aghanedronge, half poll; Rahardrume, one poll; Doonancry, one poll;

* Throughout the paper tld=.townland.
† The *Annals of Ulster* record this battle under 592 A.D.
‡ Vide s.v. "None," in *Cath. Ency.*
§ *Life of St. Canice*, in Martyrology of Tallaght, by Rev. Math. Kelly, D.D., pp. 140-1; *Diocese of Ossory*, by Rev. W. Carrigan, C.C., Vol. II., p. 30.

Naperton, one poll; in all 1,000 acres with the islands, fishings, water, and soil of Loughrawer belonging or adjoining to the said lands. Rent, 8 pound English. The premises are created the Manor of Chichester with 300 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin in common soccage and subject to the conditions of the Plantation of Ulster. Dated 1610.

Ridgeway belonged to Devonshire. The work just named gives the following account of him :—

> John Ridgeway—a brother of Sir Thomas,* the Treasurer. He was classed among those "servitors who were not in pay but were willing to undertake"; and, it might have been added that such were not merely "willing," but quite anxious to become undertakers. His name was returned on the "List of servitors thought meet to be undertakers," a result of which, under the circumstances, he could hardly have a right to expect and which very probably was owing to his brother's great influence at headquarters.

Captain Culme, in 1610, obtained the grant of the district adjoining Loch Ramor subject to the conditions already detailed (Journal, p. 23). He was also a native of Devonshire and was founder of the present town of Virginia. Hill (*op. cit.*, p. 457) gives the following details regarding him :—

> This officer was the son of Sir Hugh Culme of Chamston and Cannonsleigh in Devonshire, and Mary, daughter of Richard Fortescuse of Filleigh, in the same county. Capt. Culme, who was knighted in 1623, married the daughter of a gentleman named Emerson of Derbyshire and died in 1630. His residence was Cloughouter in Cavan. By his wife (who re-married with a Colonel Jones and died in 1661) Sir Hugh left a large family of sons and daughters. His eldest son and heir, Arthur Culme, resided at Cloughouter and died without having children in 1650. One of Sir Hugh's daughters, Anne, married John Edgeworth of Cranelagh in Longford; and a second, Elizabeth, became the wife of George Bradshaw of Bradshaw in Derbyshire. The Irish branch of this family is extinct in the male line since the death of Hugh Culme, Esq., of Lisnemaine, in the year 1700.
>
> (See *Trevelyan Papers*, Part III, Culme Pedigree at the end of the volume.)

In the account of the original grant of the district to Culme and the foundation of the new town Pynnar (*Survey of Ulster*, 1618) refers to a "minister who kept a good school" in Virginia, after

* A letter of Sir Thos. Ridgeway, from Torr, Devonshire, to Boyle, "Great" Earl of Cork, and dated September, 1618, is preserved among the documents of the period in Lismore Castle. It gives a pleasant glimpse of this clever and tactful lawyer in his rural retirement in sunny Devonshire, "content without further troubling and tossing in an envious and misinterpreting world." (*Lismore Papers*, ed. by Rev. Alex. B. Grosart, LL.D., Second Series, Vol. II., p. 133. Privately Printed.)

its foundation, and was "a very good preacher." Hill (*op. cit.*, p. 458) says of him :—

> This was probably Benjamin Culme, a brother of Sir Hugh, who came to Ireland with the latter and a third brother named Arthur who also resided at Cloughouter [and whom Clogy describes as Minister of Cavan in 1641]. Benjamin was, no doubt, "a good preacher" for, in 1615, he was appointed Prebend of Malahide; in 1616 Rector of Rathmore; and in 1619 Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He was a Commissioner for ecclesiastical causes in 1638. He returned to England in 1649, and remained there until 1657, the year of his death. He died at Mudghill, Wilts, where his monument records that he was "an excellent preacher and a good divine" (See *Trevelyan Papers*, end of Part III).

It does not appear that Capt. Ridgeway lived for very long in the Castle of Ballaghanea. Capt. Culme seems to have used it as a residence of secondary importance since his chief residence was at Cloch Oughter. Ballaghanea Castle is marked in ruins on the Plantation Map of 1609 and is described as "ruinous" in the 1610 grants (*loc. cit.*). It was repaired in the period between 1610 and 1618 as it was used as a place of residence in the latter year. It remained in the possession of the Planters until it was re-taken and occupied by the Irish under the Earl of Fingall in October, 1641. But it did not remain long in the possession of the Irish. Lord Moore went forth from Drogheda in Aug., 1642, and, having put the Earl of Fingall to flight, burned the castle. The Earl's two children were placed, for safety, on an island in Loch Ramor (presumably the Big Island) where they were taken, together with thirty cases of new pistols by Sir Henry Tichborne and Lord Moore in a raid from Kells in March, 1643. The castle seems to have fallen into decay in the following years. It is not marked on the D. S. map of 1654, nor is it mentioned by Dr. Isaac Butler in his description of Virginia *circa* 1745 (*vide* Journal, p. 27). Only traces of the foundations now remain. They are in the small wood close to the edge of the lake.

The origin of the title *Virginia* applied to a town founded by a Devonshire man, seven or eight years after the death of Queen Elizabeth, is fairly obvious. Still Hill writes (*op. cit.* p. 458) :—

> It does not appear why Capt. Culme selected this name for his town, but it has been ever since in use. The little town so-called, stands on the north-eastern shore of Lough Ramor, six miles south-west of Bailieboro'. It belongs to the Headfort Estate, the lords of which in their generations took pains to have the place duly cared for and made attractive. The inn at Virginia is spoken of as being the best on the whole line of [mail-coach] road from Enniskillen to Dublin.

The *Parliamentary Gazeteer*, published in 1846, is equally loud in its praises of the inn.

The division of *Murmode*, to the west of Virginia, was assigned

to Lieut. Garth in 1610. The grant is described by Pynnar :—

500 acres. Lieut. *Garth* was the first Patentee. Sir *Thomas Ash*, Kt., holdeth 500 acres called *Murmode*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Sodds ; but all the Land is inhabited with *Irish*.

The details of the tlds. included in the grant are also given by Hill (*op. cit.* p. 343) as follows :—

Grant to Roger Garth, gent. : Pollowtracorrada, one poll ; Polleightracorrada, one poll ; Aghikinerty, one poll ; Killychine, half poll ; Nacarran, one poll ; Nachollchill, one poll ; Lisnabantromy, one poll ; Cornacarha, one poll ; Aghnedronge, half poll ; Dollowe, one poll ; Dromeny and Agheyergery, one poll ; in all 500 acres. Rent, 4 pounds English. The premises are created the Manor of Garth, with 150 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin, etc. Dated 18th Dec., 1610.

The division of *Carvyn** assigned to Sir Edmond Fettiplace (or Phettilace) is described by Pynnar :—

1000 acres. Sir Edmond Phettilace was the first Patentee. Sir Thomas *Ash* holdeth this Proportion called *Carvyn*. Upon this there is built a very good Bawne of Lyme and Stone, being 70 feet square and 12 feet high, with two Flankers ; but all the land is inhabited with *Irish*.

Hill (*op. cit.* p. 343) gives the particulars of the grant :—

Grant to Sir Edmund Fettiplace, Knt. Polleneheny, Carrickevey, Carrovadegoone, Mullomore, Dromhill, Cornakilly, Garurosse, Corvine, Aghanoran and Carmine, one poll each. Derrilurgane, two polls ; Kilcholly, one poll ; Killagagh, two polls ; Luggagoage, Lurganlostie, Killowran, Cornaran, and Rasodan, one poll each ; in all, 1,000 acres. Rent, 8 pounds English. The premises are created the Manor of Mullomore, with 300 acres in demesne and a court baron. To hold forever as of the Castle of Dublin, etc. Dated 8 Jan., 1609-10.

In the lists of grants to Irish "natives" in 1610 (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 343) we find that Barnaby O'Reilly, of Nacorraghes, was allowed one poll in each of the tlds. of Nacorraghes [Coragh] Lysmine [Lismeen], and Lattoune [Lattoon], in all 150 acres, at a rent of £1 12s. 0d. per ann. Shane McHugh O'Reilly of Balaghanea was allowed, in return for the loss of his castle and ancestral home, one poll each in the tlds. of Killyfinlagh, Ballinecargie, and Correkeogan [Corracarrow], and half a poll each in Gallownebraher and Killyvally ; two polls in Lackan ; half poll in Gallownegappul ["Puttelenecapall and Lissinery." Down Survey] ; one poll each in Dromallaght, Fetawan [Fintavin], and Aghologhan ; in all 475 acres at a rent of £5 1s. 4d. Shane

* Carnin in the parish of Castlerahan. The Down Survey (1654) has *Carneine*.

McPhilip O'Reilly was granted one poll each in the tlds. of Pollemaledy, Kilmore, Nacarcragh [Curraghmore], Clonsoccan (a "lost" townland between Pollamalady and Drumgora, marked on the D.S. Map) Corroneadan, Bracklone, Downe [Doon], Dromaghegolan, Clontikarke, Shranickmoyertie [Stramaquerty], Dromadiraglasse [Drumederglass], Lisagapull [Lissacapple], Boylly [Billis], and Lisgirr [Lisgrea] ; Naburney [Burnew], two polls, amounting to 900 acres at a yearly rent of £9 12s. 0d. A grant to Mulmorie McOwen O'Reilly of one poll in each of the tlds. of Currabredin and Crosrowle [Crosserule], Aghenegeny [?] half a poll ; half of Dromby [Drumderg ?] and Aghogasshel [Aghacashel], one poll each, in all 200 acres at the yearly rent of £2 2s. 8d.

The Plantation in the reign of James I. did not at first affect the native ownership of the land as much as might be expected. The former possessors were generally retained as tenants. The original idea of the Plantation was to settle English and Scottish undertakers in about equal numbers. But, whether as tenants or labourers, the Irish inhabitants were found to be indispensable. Early in 1624 their stay was officially sanctioned, pending enquiry, and in 1626 there was a further extension to May, 1628, and after that for another year ; but neither then nor later was the transplantation really carried out. The undertakers, or some of them, had, indeed, their own grievances. Having been unable to perform their covenants strictly, and being afraid of forfeiture, some of them offered to submit to a double rent and other penalties, in consideration of a fresh title, but this arrangement was not carried out. The result of this uncertainty was that hundreds of British families gave up the idea of settling and went away, while the Irish held on desperately whether the legal landlords liked it or not.*

James I. bestowed very large endowments of land to the Established Church and especially to the Bishops. "Of the whole land granted in the six escheated counties," writes Bagwell (*op. cit.* p. 89), "little more than one-tenth was given as property to the natives ; the rest of them lived chiefly as dependents on the undertakers, and without legal interest in the land which they were forced to till for a subsistence."

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* for the Barony of Castlerahan show both the owners and occupiers in 1641 and to whom the forfeited lands were assigned by the Act of Settlement. In the following List the names of the Proprietors in 1641 are on the left*, the names of the Grantees on the right. The numbers in the first column are the references by which the tlds. are indicated on the Down Survey Map (*Cf.* Journal, p. 129). As before, the letter C. signifies Termon (or Church) land ; B, M, and L, bog, mountain, and lake respectively.

* Proclamation of Dec. 13, 1627, in P.R.O., Dublin, : Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*. Vol. I., p. 87.

			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
	58	Lismeene	143	0	32		143	0	32	
	58.B.	Two Parcells on either side of same...	25	2	16	Unprofitable				
Nicholas Reilly, Irish Papist	59.	Currach	134	1	8		134	1	8	Nicholas Reilly in Fee by Decree dated 1668. Roll 3.
	59.B.	Of the same ...	29	1	8	Unprofitable				
	59.L.	Loghderregeel ...	150	3	8	Unprofitable				
	60.	Luttin	120	2	0		120	2	0	
	60.B.	Of the same ...	32	0	32					
James Reilly, Irish Papist	61.	Trintavan	107	2	32		107	2	32	Lord Masserene by cert.
	62.	Agbaloghan ...	153	1	16		153	1	16	10 July, 1668. R.7.927.
	63.	Gallonenabeare and Kilfinlogh	157	0	15		157	0	15	Christopher Plunkett. Left to law for a Mort. Decree. 17 June, 1663. Not in Roll. Lord Masserene by cert. ut supra. R.7. 927.
	65.	Pulemulledy ...	124	3	24		124	3	24	Lord Masserene by cert. ut. supra.
Hugh Reilly, Irish Papist.	66.	Cloonsochan ...	103	2	32		103	2	32	
	67.	Liskerry (or Killkerry)	166	3	24		166	3	24	Alex Piggot by cert. 8 May, 1668. R.7. 927.
	67B.	Of the same ...	132	0	0	Unprofitable				Sir Robert Parkhouse left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Roll. Innoc.

304

			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
	70.	Cornaslea	121	0	0		121	0	0	
	70.B.	Of the same ...	10	0	0	Unprofitable				
	69.	Drumgore	118	0	0		118	0	0	
	69.B.	Of the same ..	26	0	0	Unprofitable				
	71.	Corgash	114	0	0		114	0	0	
Luke Plunkett Earle of Fingall	71.L.	Of the same ...	4	0	0	Unprofitable				Earle of Fingall in Fee Innocents Roll Foll. 4.
	71.B.	Of the same ...	109	2	32	do.				
	72.	Dunancare	118	0	0		118	0	0	
	72.B.	Of the same ...	44	2	0	Unprofitable				
	73.	Virginia and Clanmore	266	0	0		266	0	0	
	74.	Rihardrum ...	148	2	16		148	2	16	
	68.	Lisnafanny ...	219	0	0		219	0	0	
	75.	Balleine	145	1	8		145	1	8	
	76.	Corneshuesky ...	117	2	16		48 69	0 2	0 16	Thos. Cooch by cert. 15 March, 1666. R.4. 171. Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Foll. 4.5.
	77.	Killikeene	31	0	0		31	0	0	
Luke Plunkett Earle of Fingall Irish Papist.	78.	Lislea	105	2	0		105	2	0	Earle of Fingall in Fee. Innocents' Roll. Foll. 4.5. Christopher Plunkett. Left to law for this as aforesaid, 17 June, 1663. Not in Roll.
	79.	Cargagh	69	3	8		69	3	8	
	80.	Enagh	89	3	24		89	3	24	
	80.B.	Of the same ...	423	1	8	Unprofitable				
	81.	Fhartagh	117	2	16		117	2	16	
	81.B.	Of the same ..	69	2	0	Unprofitable				

305

			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
	82.	Lislurty ...	112	1	24		112	1	24	
Luke	82.B.	Of the same	13	2	0	Unprofitable				
Plunkett	83.	Edenburt ...	286	0	0		286	0	0	Earl of Fingall in Fee.
Earle of	L.R.	Logh Ramer	1083	0	0	Unprofitable				Innocents' Roll.
Fingall	84.	Portan ...	103	0	0		103	0	0	Foll. 5.
Irish	84.B.	Of the same	24	0	0	Unprofitable				
Papist.	85.	Gallan McGerrod	110	3	8		110	3	8	
John Ashe, Irish Protestant	A.	Both the Murmodes and Aghanmadronke								John Ashe, Irish Protestant.
David Kellett, English Protestant	D.	Droman ...	299	1	4		169	3	24	John Reade No cert. or Pat.
							129	1	20	Lord Masserene by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7. 927.
John Ashe, Irish Protestant	86.	Magherendowne	556	1	24		556	1	24	Lord Masserene by cert. 31 Dec., 1668. R.7. 1076. Sir Robert Parkhurst. Left to law for a Mort. Decree. Not in Innocents' Roll.
Garrett	86.B.	Of the same	100	2	0	Unprofitable				
Fleming, Irish Papist	86.B.	Of the same	30	3	24	do.				
	86.S.	Of the same	126	1	24	do. (Shaking Bog.)				

306

			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
Laurence	87.	Killkunny ...	105	1	8		105	1	8	Sir Tristram Beresford by cert. 18 May, 1666. R.1. 665.
Dowdall, Irish Papist	87B.	Of the same	51	3	8	Unprofitable				
John Reilly, Irish Papist	88.	Aghencashell	139	0	32		139	0	32	
			A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
C.+1. Church Land. Lord Bishop of Killmore		Lurgan ...	228	0	32		228	0	32	Church Land.
C.+2. George Creton Parson of the said Parish of Lurgan. Scotch Protestant		Quillimoney and Lurginerin ...	187	0	0		187	0	0	Church Land.
		Curragh, Coppinagh and Drumderrig ...	370	2	24		370	2	24	

307

The Church lands in the parish of Lurgan were both extensive and of considerable value. This is indicated by the details furnished by the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. The Inquisition of 1590 found that the Hospital of Lurgan was possessed of two polls or Cartrons valued 2 shillings per ann. This was confiscated to the Crown, and later was handed over to the Established Church. The grant to the Rector of Lurgan in 1626 is described by Morrin (*Cal. Patent and Close Rolls*, 1626, Vol. II., p. 188) :—

> To George Creighton, rector or vicar of the Church of Lurgan, is assigned the lands of Capanagh and Correagh, two polls, and Dromadrigge, half a poll, near the proportion of Deheran [Termon] in the Barony of Castlerahen ; Culnagalchie and Lurgan Ichonhogan, alias Lurgan Ilobogan, two polls near the proportion of Cornegligh [Cornaglea].

In the Depositions of 1641, *i.e.*, 14 years later, Rev. Mr. Creighton makes a statement regarding his property at Drumgowrath, Cargagh, Ballibruse, and Virginia.* The tlds. of Quillimoney and Lurginerin are marked on the D. S. Map (1654) as occupying the area covered by the present tlds. of Bruse and Carriga-Bruse. The same area is marked "Culnagralchy," "Lurgan Ilanbogan," "Carignavigh," and "Nacarigi-bruse" on the 1609 Plantation Map The present Bruse Hill is situated about the centre of this area. Many of these tld. names have since died out of use. All these lands became known as "Glebes," and were so termed until the Irish Church Disestablishment in 1869.

The Deposition of Rev. George Creighton, or Creichton, dated 16th April, 1643 (vide this Journal, p. 25), giving a description of the state of affairs in the district of Virginia during the Revolution of 1641, may be set down as the longest in the T. C. D. Collection. It runs to 32 foolscap pages, closely written and containing about 16,000 words.† He is sometimes amusing in his ingenuousness and simplicity but appears to give a faithful account of his experiences, although manifestly writing under nervous tension. He tells how he was aroused in his house in Virginia on the fateful night of 23rd Oct., 1641, by the "sad news" of the Revolution. He had plenty of provisions and candidly acknowledges that "because he was a Scotchman he was not pillaged." "And the Irish would tell this deponent," he states,

* "Drumgowrath, 32 cowes ; Cargagh, young and old, 12 cowes ; Ballibruse, young and old, 69 cowes ; Virginia, 31 cowes and 24 calves ; horses, mares and foales, 18 ; sheep, 40 ; swyne, 10."

† *Cavan Depositions*, LxV MS., T. C. D., F. 3. 3. The Deposition is printed by the late Sir John T. Gilbert in his *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland* from 1641 to 1652, Vol. I., pp. 525-546. The portion of it quoted by Miss Hinckson from the Harleian MSS., Oxford, occupies nine pages.—*Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. II., Addenda, pp. 388-396. An excellent summary of the history of the Revolution of 1641 by Sir John T. Gilbert, the most reliable authority on this period, will be found in the Appendix to the *Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, pp. 572-576.

"that the Scots were their kindred and had not oppressed them in their government." The Earl of Fingall and his train arrived at the castle of Ballaghanea and established themselves there. The people of the district trooped into Virginia, and "the parishioners of the next adjoining parishes of Laway [Lavey] and Mullaghe came and drove away most of the cowes and horses of Virginia (among which were some of the deponent's)." He was advised "to flee to Parta wood, about a mile to the west* of Virginia." However, his fears of molestation proved to be unfounded, and he was kindly treated by the Revolutionists.

Living on at Virginia, to the refugees passing through on their way to Drogheda or Dublin, Rev. Mr. Creighton behaved with great charity. "Colonel O'Reilly (*i.e.* Philip McHugh McShane Roe) collected together all the English from Cavan, Ballyhayes, Belturbet and any other towns throughout that part of the country and sent them all under escort [*via* Virginia] to Drogheda."† A great number, says Mr. Creichton in his Depositions (*loc. cit.*), came from Ballyhayes, afterwards about 1,400, he states, from about Cavan and the parish of "Dun." "All whom this deponent, by God's special providence and through the favour of his parishioners and the O'Reillys (being left among them as yet not robbed, being a Scottish man) to his power having store of provisions relieved."‡

Many of the Protestant inhabitants fled to the fields, but Mr. Creighton stood his ground and very soon a messenger arrived from Capt. Tirlogh McShane McPhilip O'Reilly to say that the Irish would harm no Scot. Mr. Creighton then had an interview with this chieftain at Parta wood. Although Virginia was taken by the O'Reillys no lives were lost, for no one made any resistance. "The canny Scots clergyman," writes Bagwell, "managed to keep the Irish in pretty good humour, lodged nine families in his own house, and provided food for the fugitives from Fermanagh who began to arrive in a few days."§ Sir Francis Hamilton, who held Keilagh Castle at Killeshandra, tried to organise resistance, but Philip McHugh O'Reilly took the settlers under his protection and they gave up their arms. Capt. Ryves with some thirty horse reached the Pale by O'Daly's Bridge on the Blackwater and occupied Ardbraccan in Meath for the Lords Justices.‖

When the O'Reillys were preparing to invade the Pale they mustered at Virginia where Mr. Creighton made friends with the

* Gilbert (*op. cit.*) reads "east," an error which is repeated by subsequent commentators. A close examination of the original, which is now almost illegible in parts, shows that "west" is correct as local topography sanctions.

† *A Narrative of the Wars of 1641*, by Friar O'Mellan, O.S.F.—p. 1.

‡ *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, by Hinckson, Vol. II., p. 389.

§ *Ireland under the Stuarts*, Vol. I., p. 339.

‖ *Relation* of Rev. Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, 1642. Contemp. Hist., I., p. 476.

mother of Philip McHugh McShane O'Reilly on the ground of common kinship with Argyle, "of which house it seemeth that she was well pleased that she was descended. This kindred stood me in great stead afterwards, for although it was far off and old, yet it bound the hands of the ruder sort from shedding my blood." The Scots were not molested in any way during the Revolution; in fact, none of the setlers were injured except those who offered resistance.

The Journal of the Earl of Essex,* Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who took a "bird's-eye view" of this part of Breffni during his unsuccessful march northwards to meet Hugh O'Neill in 1599, gives some important reasons for his not having then established an outpost here as previously intended (*Cal. State Papers*, 1599, *Carew* MSS., p. 321; "Proceedings of the Earl of Essex"). Describing his experiences from 28th August till 8th September, 1599, he writes:—

> The 28th of Aug. the Lord Lieutenant departed Dublin with 100 horse; and, having appointed all the companies of horse and foot that were to go into the field to come to the Navan and Kelles, he lodged himself at Ardbracken (at a house of the Bishop of Meath's), betwixt the two towns. And, because the companies came not in till the 31st, his Lordship gave rendezvous to all the army on the hill of Clythe† half a mile from Kelles towards the Breiny [Breffni] and encamped that night at Castle Keran two miles beyond the hill. There also his Lordship was fain to stay one whole day till his victuals, that came from Dredaghe [Drogheda] overtook him. But that day he spent in viewing the Lord Dunsanie's country and part of the Breiny and appointed certain commissioners to view all the companies of horse and foot that he might know the true strength of his army and dispose them into regiments accordingly.
>
> This day also his Lordship debated it in Council whether it were fit to place a garrison in the Breiny or not, and if in any part of that country where was the fittest place. It was concluded that no garrison could be placed in any part

* Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex (1567—1601) who became Elizabeth's favourite after the death of Leicester. Had he succeeded in his Irish campaign he would have been the hero of the Elizabethan age. Shakespeare, writing in 1599, ventures to suggest a possible comparison between him and the victor of Agincourt:—

> Were now the general of our gracious empress
> (As in good time he may), from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit,
> To welcome him!
>
> *King Henry V., Act V.*

† Hill of Lloyd, near Ceanannus (Kells). It is written *Mullach-Aiti*, or Aiti's Hill, by the *Four Masters*.

> of this country. First, because about the Cavan and betwixt it and Kelles, the country is all waste so as there is nothing beyond Kelles to be defended, nor to relieve the garrison. Secondly, because all the country of Cavan is so far within the land and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dredaghe, so that all the victuals as are sent to a garrison there must be carried on garrons' [*i.e.* horses'] backs, which will be very difficult and subject to a great deal of hazard, the Pale not being able to furnish many carriages and the rebels of those quarters being very strong. And the third and last reason was that Tyrone [*i.e.* Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone] was lodged in Ferny [Farney] with an army and prepared to enter into the Pale and to have burned and spoiled to the gates of Dublin as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was gone as high up as the Cavan.

Essex then arranged that Kells should be his "frontier garrison towards the Cavan," and marched with his army through Robertstown and Newcastle to Ardee. He encamped at Ardolphe and met O'Neill at Bellaclinthe (Sept. 7) on the River Lagan near Drumcondra. Here he concluded his famous parley with O'Neill, which so enraged Elizabeth that she had him recalled, committed to prison in the Tower of London, and finally executed. He appears to have made a detailed inspection of the Cavan border and fully satisfied himself that it was impracticable to establish a garrison there for the three ample reasons which he specifies. At that time a very large portion of Cavan was waste land, as may be inferred from the extensive acreages marked "unprofitable" in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*loc. cit.*). The contrast between the extent of the areas then marked "waste" with the present conditions is strikingly illustrated by a comparison of the D. S. Map (1654) with the present Ordnance Survey.

NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664.

The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 (*Revenue Exchequer, Generals Collection*; P. R. O. Dublin) contains a list of the principal householders in that year returned as paying the Hearth Tax in accordance with Acts 14 and 15, Carolus II., c. 17. Only one Roll for Co. Cavan is now known to exist, viz., that of 1664.* As the modern history of the county and its people proceeds directly from this Roll it is of interest as fixing the location of the chief families of that time (see this Journal, p. 146). The following are the lists for "Lorgan Parish."

* Based on the Hearth Money Lists for 1732 and 1733 the number of families in Co. Cavan was then 8,206 (6,237 Cath. and 1,969 Prot.). This would give a population of 41,030. That of all Ireland is set down as about 2,000,000. (Abstract, printed in 1736, appended to Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, 2nd ed., 1736.) Cf. Renehan's *Collections*, Vol. I., p. 91.

MORMUD.—Conor O'Fferielly, Cormucke Ffarielly, Murtagh Kenedy, Daniell O'Gowen, Ffarrell Goe, Thomas O'Fferielly, and and Thomas Garr O'Fferielly.

CARGAGH.—Cahir Relly.

DROMHEELE.—John Relly, William Donellan and Donell MacElire.

BURREN.—Thomas Relly and Phelym Magwigin.

CARRICKEELTY.—Calir Relly.

FFARTAGH.—James Relly, Gilbert Brady, and Thomas MACGILDUFFE.

ENAGH.—Donogh O'Mullane, and Edmond Say.

AGHONEDRONGE.—Bartholomey Kellett and Hugh MacGillicke.

KILCONNY.—Terence Doyne.

LISLEAGH.—Tirlagh O'Mullan, James Willas, and Hugh Magra.

CARGAGH.—Tirlagh MacSymon, Edmond MacSymon, and Edmond MacSymon the elder.

VIRGINIA.—John Doughty (two hearths), Stephen Heard, Eber Burch (Clarke), Hugh Burn, John Ramsye, and Cale Relly.

PARTUE. Daniell Relly.

BALLAGHNA.—Charles MacFfaiden (two hearths) and Bartholomew Stanly.

DUNANCKRY.—Dermott Cusake and Daniell Cusake.

CORGARKOWE.—Hugh Relly and Brien O'Heery.

EDENBURT.—Phillip Brogan, Shane Brogan, Patricke Lincy, Brian MacCahell, and Donell Brady.

DROMDERIGE.—Patricke Callaghan, William Roe Carwill, Tirlagh Brady, and Thomas Magnawide.

AGHOCASTLE.—Nicholas Callaghan, Daniel Mageehan, Conor MacSymon, and Owen O'Callaghan.

LISNAFANY.—Thomas Relly.

DRUMGOARY.—Philip Relly.

LORGIN.—Glasny Relly.

DRUMUNY.—Tirlagh Clerkan, Brien Relly, and Conor Clerkan.

AGHOWLOGHAN and GALLONNEMRAHER.—John FitzSymons, Thomas O'Briody, Charles FitzSymons, Shane MacConalty, and Murtagh O'Fflanegan.

LISMEENE.—Hugh FitzSymons, Conor Lincy, and Phelym FitzSymons.

LATTOONE.—Phelym FitzSymons, Nicholas FitzSymons and Patricke Corrigan.

FFYNTAWEN.—James Relly.

POLLEMOLEDY.—Tirlagh Ffloody and Patricke MacGillicke.

CORREAGH.—Daniell O'Mughan, Daniel Olvill, Nicholas Ffarrelly, Patricke Macumuskie, Gillisa O'Carreene, John Relly, Patricke Monaghan and Owen Relly.

Total, 84 Houses : £viii. : s. viii.

In this list only 30 Lurgan tlds. are recorded, *i.e.*, about one-half of the total number in the parish. This would represent not quite

even the half of the total number of householders. It is certain that many inhabited tlds. escaped payment owing to the inevitable difficulties of collecting the tax, which was as unpopular in Ireland as Macaulay tells us it was in England. Besides, both many tlds. may have been inaccessible to the tax-collectors, and, it may be assumed, many people successfully evaded payment, and there were several recognised exemptions. Hence the Hearth Money Rolls do not supply satisfactory data whereon to establish a computation of the population of the parish at the time. But the number of householders returned may be taken as about one-half of the total, and probably less.

The exemptions from the tax are specified in the Act as follows :

> Those who live upon alms and are not able to get their livelihood by work, and widows, who shall procure a certificate of two justices of the peace in writing yearly, that the house which they inhabit is not of greater value than eight shillings by the year, and that they do not occupy lands of the value of eight shillings by the year, and that they have not goods or chattels to the value of four pounds.*

It may be assumed that many took advantage of this saving clause when they did not actually resist payment. In many tlds. only one person is returned as having paid the assessment. The tax-collectors appeared to have fared no better elsewhere. In the Co. Monaghan only 1016 tlds. out of a possible 1850 are recorded as contributing to the tax.†

"The only direct tax which was paid by the poor," writes Lecky, "was hearth money, at the rate of two shillings a hearth, and, a few years before the Union, cabins with only one hearth were exempted."‡

Only two householders are returned as paying for more than one hearth, viz. :—John Doughty, of Virginia, and Charles MacFfaiden, of "Ballaghna" (Ballaghanea). Both are returned as possessing two each. Naturally, the wealthy alone would enjoy such a comparative luxury in those times. Rev. Ebur Burch mentioned in the lists was then Rector of Lurgan and is returned as only paying for one hearth. With few exceptions those who paid for more than one hearth were the new settlers. In fact, in the lists for the entire Barony of Castlerahan only *one* householder is returned as possessing three hearths, viz. : Thomas Burton, of Lismacanegan. *Three* are returned as possessing two each, viz., the above John Doughty, and Charles MacFfaiden, and Abraham Clements, of Kilnecrott. It is of interest to note that barely six names are returned as contributing to the tax

* Young's *Tour in Ireland* (1776-1779), Vol. II., p. 121. Cf. George O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the 18th Century*, passim.

† *History of Monaghan* (1660-1860), by D. C. Rushe, p. 4. The Rolls for two years, 1663 and 1665, exist for that County.

‡ *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky, Vol. II., p. 504.

in the tld. of Virginia, showing that in the fifty-three years that had elapsed from 1611 the development of the new town was inconsiderable. The evidence afforded by the Hearth Money Rolls is conclusive that, despite the confiscations of James I., and the penalising legal enactments of the Commonwealth period, the native owners were, as tenants at will, still in possession of the land, at least in the barony of Castlerahan.

In the lists the majority of the names preserve their original Gaelic forms. Fitzsimons occurs as "MacSymon," and also "FitzSymons"; Smith occurs as "O'Gowen," and in the more usual spoken form of "Goe." Dunne is written "Doyne." Many of the forms in which the names are written seem unintelligible, as the people spoke only Irish, and the names were entered phonetically. In most cases the Gaelic sounds could not be exactly reproduced in English. Lynch, for example, is entered as "Lincy." The use of second patronymics had begun to disappear before this time, but the older Christian names, e.g., Turlogh or Tirlagh (Terence), Cahir (Charles), Glasney, Gillisa, etc., had still survived. Foreign names, like James (Iago), had already been introduced from Spain by Pilgrims from that country, as well as by trade inter-communication.

In a letter to his wife, dated June 8th, 1651, published as an Appendix to Temple's *Irish Rebellion* (6th ed.—Dublin, 1724) Sir Henry Tichborne, late Governor of Drogheda, tells (p. 189) how, in August, 1642, Lord Moore went forth from Drogheda to remove the rebels from about Trim. Sir Henry had 500 choice foot. He continues :—

> And that service ended by the Rebells firing the castle they possest, and retreating, and my Lord's taking of *Clone* in the County of *Westmeath*, burning the house at *Lough Ramor*, and *Virginia* [Ballaghanea Castle]; and taking of *Carrick-mac-Cross* in the County of *Monaghan*, with great Store of Prey, and Destruction of the Rebels.

The Castle of Ballaghanea had been taken over by the Earl of Fingall* during the first days of the Revolution of Oct., 1641, but

* Christopher Plunkett, 2nd Earl of Fingall, who played an important part in the Revolution of 1641. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Rathmines, in 1656, and died shortly afterwards. His father, Luke Plunkett, who was an extensive landowner in Cavan and Meath, was created 1st Earl of Fingall in 1628, and died in 1637. In a petition to the Lord Deputy and Council, dated Oct. 21st, 1656, Edward Plunkett, brother of the above Christopher, expresses the hope that "a small estate in lands called Drombarrow [Drumbaragh] and Callaghton [near Kells] in the County of Meath, of about the yearly value of £100, settled on him by his said father in his lifetime, ... shall not be adjudged liable to forfeiture or sale." (Vide *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, by R. Dunlop, M.A. Manchester University Press, 1913. Vol. II., p. 630.)

The Plunketts owned Loughcrew, where Primate Plunkett was born in 1629, and Clonabreany, in Co. Meath. The tomb of the Clonabreany Plunketts, in the old churchyard of that name near Crossakiel, is in a very good state of preservation : its inscription is in Latin (with old Roman raised letters) : the dates 1581 and 1595. Cf. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. II., p. 322.

it seems to have been finally abandoned after the Cromwellian Plantations during the Commonwealth (1649-1660). The Restoration brought no relief to the dispossessed landed proprietors, the adventurers' ownership remained undisturbed. A tradition existed that on the approach of the Irish forces in 1641, the then occupier of the Castle had his plate and household utensils thrown into the lake at a point adjoining the Castle and close to the "Big Island." The tradition was verified when almost a century ago, about 1824, the summer being very dry and the waters low, some people bathing saw the vessels shining in about ten feet of water. The place was explored with drags and eighteen vessels were raised. A contemporary writer* who saw the articles describes them as "of a compound metallic substance, the nature of bell-metal, and of various forms and sizes, supposed to have been for culinary uses." The vessels, of which only four or five were extant, were then in the possession of the Marquis of Headfort (by right of seigniory), Rev. Mr. Rowley, Rector of Lurgan, and a Mr. Blackeney. The last named was then owner of the farm adjoining the place where the articles were discovered. The remaining number of the eighteen vessels, had been brought secretly to Dublin by those who discovered them, and sold to the foundries at six-pence a pound! Such wanton destructiveness baffles the imagination. But tradition, in this case, was amply verified. It is to be regretted that the vessels were not deposited in a museum and preserved as antiquarian legacies for posterity. Lewis (*Top. Dict.*), it may be added, refers to the find. But with a not unusual unreliability, he suggests that "the curiously shaped brazen" articles were Danish. In his time (1837) the tendency was to attribute every rare and ancient object to the Danes.

Ath Leathain†, the older name of the tld., in which the present town of Virginia (now reverted to its original name) is situated, soon dropped out of use after the town's foundation in the period 1610-18. It was soon displaced by the newer name. This complete transformation of nomenclature seems to have generally occurred in cases where the older title had no important local standing. In a few years the new name eclipsed the older. Other examples in Co. Cavan, e.g., Bailieboro' and Cootehill, indicate that when a new town was founded by the Planters in a mere tld. the newer name immediately established itself and the older form was lost. Even locally the older name, Ath

* *Angling Excursions in the Counties of Wicklow, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, and Cavan*, by Gregory Greendrake, Esq., *with Additions*, by Geoffrey Greydrake, Esq., pp. 272, et seq. Dublin : 1832. Now a comparatively rare book.

† Pron. "Agha-leer." Cf. tld. names of "Lear" at Bailieboro', and "Camalier," near Belturbet, all of which are derived from Leathan, a river-fork.

Ladair, is not remembered. There is a pathetic interest in the attempt of our forefathers to "put Irish on" the new and strange name which passed into a local proverb: "Deireann beag na gcionán," or "little goose-berry town" (?). *Achadh Ladhair* does not occur in the *State Papers*, as far as I can find, later than 1606 (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1606, p. 60), when it is written (as pronounced) Aghaleere. Although marked on the Plantation Map of 1609 it is not mentioned in the 1610 Plantation Grants (*loc. sit.*). The arrival of the Undertakers and their train insured the complete abandonment of the original title. How successfully this was achieved is borne out by the fact that in 1641 (*Depositions, loc. sit.*), *i.e.*, about thirty years afterwards, the "ancient name of Virginia" was already to those mentioned a matter of doubt and conjecture. Ballaghanea, on account of its containing the Castle of the O'Reillys, the chieftains of the district, was of much greater relative importance than Achadh Ladhair. The

Lurgan's 16th Century Church in 1922.

district of Ballaghanea seems to have included a greater area than the present tld. of the same name. This would appear from the *State Papers* of 1611 which refer to the "proposed town at Ballaghaney." It is certain that the first wooden houses, erected in 1611, were situated close to the Castle of Ballaghanea about a mile south-east of the present town of Virginia. These houses were occupied by English tradesmen, as detailed in the report of

that year (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1611, p. 130), and the wood used was brought from Co. Fermanagh. The present water-course which works the mill at Ballaghanea was constructed in the same year.

In 1654 the D.S. Map has "Virginia and Clanmore" which includes the greater part of the present tld. of Deerpark adjoining Virginia. This constituted the ancient Ach Ladair. The name Clanmore, or Clonmore, meaning the "Big Meadow" (Cluain Mór) is still preserved in "Clonmore Gate," one of the entrances to the Deerpark. The Hearth Money Rolls of 1664 (*loc. cit.*) have "Virginia."

Another of the now vanished tlds. adjoining Virginia is *Portann* or *Partann*. It occupied the western portion of the present Deerpark, with Lurgan Glebe adjoining Loch Ramor. In the *Fiants* of Eliz. 1584 (*loc. cit.*) it is written *Party*. The 1609 Plantation Map has the Irish plural form *Nahertune*, and in the 1610 Grants (*loc. cit.*) a similar form *Naperton* is used. The Books of Survey and Distribution, 1641 (*loc. cit.*) have *Portan* containing 103 acres of arable land and 24 acres unprofitable (bog). The Depositions of the same year (*loc. cit.*) mention "*Parta* wood, about a mile to the west of Virginia." The D. S. (1654) has *Partann*, and the Hearth Money Rolls (1664) *Partue*. The name does not appear to have survived. It is probably derived from portán, meaning the little landing place on the bank of a lake or river. The present boathouse on the Deerpark demesne is situated in the ancient tld. of Portann. The suitability of the title will be apparent to those who row on Loch Ramor in the Summer.

The present tld. of Bruise (bruiġear—a farmhouse) is also frequently mentioned in the *State Papers* and Plantation documents. In 1585 (*Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1585, p. 553) Henry Duke, Sheriff of Cavan, reported to the Lord Deputy that "Hugh McBrian Ban O'Raylle [O'Reilly] of *Ballebrewsse* is the chiefest and trustiest friend that Cahil (O'Conor) and his men have in the hither side of the Brenny [Breffni], from whence they do always come, in one night's travel, into the fastness of the 'Red Moer' in Meath." It is written *Ballebruse* (*Fiants* of Eliz. 1586), and *Ballibruse* (1641 Depositions). The 1609 Map has the plural form *Nacarigi Bruse* and the D. S. Map (1654) makes it *Cargagh*, as do also the 1641 Plantation Grants.

The hill of Bruise* seems to be marked "Culnagralchy" on the 1609 map. This appears to be Cúl na Gcreallaighe or "the back of the swamp," and would be appropriate as, in the 17th century, the hill was almost surrounded by bog. The adjoining tld. of Enagh is described in the *Fiants* (Eliz. 1586) as "Enny in Ballibruse," to distinguish it from others of the same designation in the district. Other tlds. in the immediate neighbourhood marked on the 1609 map are Carigkilty (Carrakeelty-Beg and Carra-

* Not to be confounded with another hill of the same name near Arva.

keelty-More), Dromhil (Drumheel), Pollintample (Pollintemple), Tramata (Stramatt), Carignaviegh (?), Lurgan Clanbogan (?), Pollidoun (?)Aghnacloge (?), Nenah (Enagh), Fartagh, Keillcony, (Killacunny) and Eadanburt. Gallongaraue is marked adjoining Edenburt. Portion of the present tld. of Edenburt is marked "Lislurty" ("Lislierty," 1610 Grants) but this seems to be no longer remembered. The "Great Bog" of the D.S. Map, part of Fartagh, Killacunny and the surrounding tlds, is marked "Monuarogata Bog" on the 1609 Map (Mómṫéaṁ na ȝCaċ—meadow of the cats). A comparison of the 1609 and 1654 tld. maps with the present O.S. Map is of special interest. Many of the older names seem to have since disappeared, but a complete discussion of their identity must be reserved for a future occasion. The D. S. Map (1654) gives "Quillimoney and Lurginerin" as a tld. covering both the present Drumheel and Carriga-Bruise, and comprising the Glebe lands of 1641. The names are not now remembered locally.

In the original project of the Jacobean Plantation of Cavan it was laid down that three Borough Towns, each with 250 acres for its support, should be created, viz.: Cavan, Belturbet, and a third Town "to be erected in or near the Midway between *Kells* and the *Cavan*."* Virginia arose there as planned but it alone was not made a Corporate Town. This cannot have been due to its smallness, for many Boroughs were much smaller. A letter of advice from Sir A. Chichester to "Sir John Davies, His Majesty's Serjeant-at-Law and Attorney General in Ireland"† may help to throw some light on the omission.

> Noble Mr. Attorney,
>
> In making of the borough towns I find more and more difficulties and uncertainties; some return they are but tenants at will and pleasure to certain gentlemen, who have the fee farm, or by lease for a few years, so they are doubtful to name themselves for burgesses without the landlord's consent; and the landlord is of the Church of Rome, and will return none but recusants; of which kind of men we have no need, and shall have less use. Some other towns have few others to return than recusants and others none but soldiers; so my advice on that point is, that you bring direction and authority to make such towns boroughs only as we think fit and behoveful for such service; and to omit such as are named, if they like [are likely] to be against us; and to enable others by charter, if we can find them answerable to our expectation, albeit they be not in the list sent either by the Lord Carewe, nor returned as allowed there.
>
> Dublin, 14th of August, 1612.
>
> ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

...ernica, p. 118.

†...es' *Discovery*, first published in 1612, Introduction, p. xxi.

Borough towns enjoyed the privilege of sending two Members each to Parliament, and it is obvious that their creation was simply a well-considered move or counter-move in the political game of which Chichester and Davies were able exponents. By suitable if quite arbitrary selections for the honour a majority of Chichesterians could be secured even though, according to Davies' own estimate, his friends were then "probably not more than one-fourth the population" of the country.* Thereafter they might pass what measures they pleased quite constitutionally. The object of the move was at once recognised. In Nov., 1612, before the General Election, six Anglo-Irish peers—Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Louth—sent a petition to King James I. complaining that many of the new boroughs consisted of "some few poor and beggarly cottages" and uncloaking the design of packing the Parliament. His Majesty, of course, ignored the petition. Davies created as many as eighty new boroughs, most of them in Ulster, and enlarged the House of Commons from less than 100 Members to 232. He won the game. When the House first met on May 18th, 1613, after the strenuous election of 1612, in which Cavan took a prominent part, he tells us himself* that of the 225 Members returned, 121 Chichesterians were present and only 101 Recusants (though of the Recusants there was no abstenee), the former returned chiefly by the Boroughs† and the latter by the Counties. Probably he thought Virginia not likely to prove itself "behoveful" for his service, and so, the King's orders notwithstanding, it was passed over. The erection of the privileged corporate towns affected the whole

* Davies (*op. cit.*) p. xix.

† For the Borough of Cavan Captain Culme, founder of Virginia, and George Sexton, Chicester's secretary, were the Chichesterian nominees. George and Walter Brady were nominated in the Recusant interests. Capt. Culme proposed himself and Sexton and brought a mandate from the County Sheriff "that himself and Sexton should be chosen." But the townsmen refused to elect them. Four or five days afterwards the High Sheriff, Sir Oliver Lambert, held an election. He behaved with great violence and committed Walter Brady, one of the candidate burgesses, to prison. He then placed a guard of armed men at the door of the Courthouse, where the election was held, with "their pieces and burning matches, who suffered none to enter but whom they pleased." George Brady, who arrived to vote for his namesake, was asked by Lambert to vote for Culme and Sexton. He refused, whereupon Lambert, "with a truncheon struck him on the head and broke his head rather dangerously." Later on in the evening Lambert repeated his request to Brady, and on the latter's continued refusal he was sent to prison. Culme and Sexton were declared duly elected. A Petition was presented on behalf of the Recusant candidates and the Commissioners found upon the evidence that "the sheriff of the town and high sheriff of the county, betwixt themselves, have unduly returned the said Collom [Culme] and Sexton, neither of them having any residence in the said town." The return of Culme and Sexton was annulled, and the two Bradys were returned "by all the inhabitants, except a very few of the poorest." (Cf. *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1613, pp. 363, 443: Schedule of Returns in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, I., 212.)

subsequent life of the country until their extinction in 1800 by the Act of Union. "The rotten boroughs," writes the English historian, Green, "which had been originally created to make the Irish Parliament dependent on the Crown, had fallen under the influences of the adjacent landlords, who were thus masters of the House of Commons, while they formed in person the House of Peers*." This opinion is borne out by the history of both our boroughs, Cavan and Belturbet.

In the early thirties of the 19th century Virginia was much improved by the Marquis of Headfort. In 1831 its population was 930. In 1841 it was a town of 149 houses and 965 inhabitants. The line of railway from Dublin to Enniskillen as first laid out was to pass by the town. But the proposal was abandoned (*Parl. Gazetter*). Virginia possessed an extensive malting and brewing establishment. The product favourably impressed a visitor in 1832 who has left the fact on record. This was Goeffrey Greydrake (an Irish disciple of Isaac Walton) who in his "Angling Excursions in Meath, Longford, and Cavan" (*loc. cit.*) describes the town and its surroundings. The town, the situation of which is "highly picturesque and pleasant," is entered "on the Meath side, over a bridge, under which flows a very pastoral stream called the *Moreen*, a tributary to the lake into which it falls, at a few perches distance, and is a nursery and repository for trout." He describes the town as "consisting of one street, which being very wide conduces to the health of the inhabitants." It contained "on the right, a brewery; a good market-house, etc.; on the left, an excellent inn; a boarding-school, under a well-qualified Protestant clergyman; a post office; and some private houses and shops." "Public coaches pass daily to and from Dublin." "The aspect of the country," he continues, "beyond a small circle, is repulsive, the soil stony and light, of the mountain character; yet the sterile-looking hills are densely populated, and covered with comfortable farmhouses and cabins, establishing the fact, that poor land at its value, and exciting the energies of industry, is paramount in its advantages to the tenant, to that of a rich soil at a high rent, yet encouraging to sloth. The labours of the agriculturist here are rewarded with excellent crops of oats."

Lurgan Glebe, the ancient Portann, then the residence of Rev. Wm. Rowley, he describes poetically as "a beautiful production of taste and cultivation, winning nature into smiles and self-complacency, and clothing her with the riches of her own hidden and neglected wardrobe." Its "beautiful and thriving plantations, shrubberies, and well-appointed gardens and orchards, are the sole creation of the present Incumbent out of a mere bog and moor." "Fort Frederick, the next adjoining mansion, seat

* *Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. MacMillan & Co., 1890. Part IV., p. 812.

of the late Alderman Sankey, colonel of the Dublin militia, appeared to me uninhabited, the windows being all closed. In fact, the Protestant clergy are, as a class, the only resident gentry; the only exceptions to the prevailing evil of absenteeism, under which the country groans and is perishing."

It should not be omitted that in the year of Greydrake's visit (1832) there was born in Virginia Dr. Thomas Fitzpatrick. Educated at T.C.D., he became a very distinguished physician in London and was a great benefactor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

A boat race on Loch Ramor was an annual event. To it the lord of the soil contributed a silver cup of the value of 30 guineas. The race for the cup in August, 1831, is vividly described by Greydrake. The boats entered for the contest were three, belonging respectively to the Marquis of Headfort, Mr. Naper of Loughcrew, and Henry Sargent* of Eighter. "A great assemblage of spectators of all ranks attended; great decorum was observed, the day was most favourable, and it was a truly gay and happy scene, a band of music performing all the time." The race was won by Henry Sargent with his boat, "The Cadet," rowed by two capital oarsmen, the brothers Farrelly. The victors were eulogised in a poem entitled "Oarsman's Glee" written on the occasion by a local bard. In the evening dinner was served "at a point in the deerpark commanding a beautiful view of the lake." A poetical sketch of the scene written there and then by one of the gentlemen present is recorded by the author mentioned :—

The boat-race thus ended, "creature comforts" began,
The several parties, each on its own plan,
Retired to the shade, or else group'd along shore,
Their baskets soon eas'd of their cherishing store;
To detail the choice things that were eaten and said,
Is more than the poet can draw from his head.
Our spirits were cheerful, and abundant our fare—
Our kind host left no want, and good humour no care;
And beauty and wit lent their magical pow'rs
To wing, in themselves, the too fugitive hours.
Etc., etc.

One of the islands in Loch Ramor, "the largest and prettiest," according to the narrative, was named the "Dear Island," the term "dear" being applied on account of the litigation cost to Lord Bective and a Mr. Woodward who contested their rights in the Law Courts. The right was at length adjudged to Lord Bective. But the victory was a Pyrrhic one owing to the costs.

* Sargent, who was land-agent to the Marquis of Headfort, was an unenviable local notoriety in his day. He died in 1861. A cousin of his, Rev. Robert Sargent, had previously been land-agent. See "Céad de Ceoltaib Uladh", by Énrí Ó Muirgheasa. pp. 9 and 182.

On this island was a cottage where the ubiquitous Dean Swift is traditionally supposed to have taken periodical rests during his somewhat untranquil life.

The present Protestant church of Virginia, situated at the western end of the town amid a picturesque grove of yew trees, is a handsome structure in the Gothic style. A church had been built here mainly by a loan from the Board of First Fruits in 1818 at a cost of £2,000.* Soon after its completion a storm blew down the steeple, which, falling on the edifice almost completely destroyed it. The church was soon afterwards restored, but an accidental fire on Christmas Night, 1832, entirely consumed it. It was then rebuilt and a new spire added. In 1837 the glebe of the Union of Lurgan and Munterconnacht comprised 999¼ acres valued at £694 per annum.† If we can trust Godkin, in 1867 it was the second most richly endowed living in either Ardagh or Kilmore, having, according to him, 994 acres of Glebe land. Killesher in Fermanagh was a long way first with 2,107 acres, and Fenagh in Leitrim third with 960.‡ And besides its endowment Lurgan had also its annual tithes until the Acts of 1832 and 1838. In the Diocese of Kilmore, according to Dr. Reeves, the custom was that "the rector of each parish received two-thirds of the tithes, except from the termon lands, the two-thirds of which belonged to the bishop, while the vicar received one-third of all."§

Rev. James Sterling—not to be confounded with "Parson" Sterling (who also had musical tastes)—who was Rector of Lurgan in the early 18th century—was an excellent musician and composer. He was a famed performer on the pipes, and was highly commended by Edmund Burke in 1754.

After describing the excellent fishing and shooting facilities provided in Virginia, Greydrake (*op. cit.*) pays a graceful and well-deserved tribute to the scenic attractions of the neighbourhood :—

> From the rectory to the church, along the Virginia side of the lake, there is a beautiful walk, by the shore, through Lord Headfort's deerpark, and scarcely anything in sylvan scenery can be more beautiful. It is not as elaborately and artificially cultivated as Headfort, but it is superior in the magnificence and wild luxuriance of nature : there are in it, some of the noblest oaks which I have anywhere seen ; the surface is diversified by an effective inequality furnishing subject for the taste which is now beginning to be exercised upon it by a beautiful drive, bringing into various points of interesting view, all its natural capabilities ; and through it runs a stream, eminently of a retired and pastoral character, and issuing at a boathouse, where is a wooden bridge, over a silvery pebbled bottom, into the lake. The wall, which once separated the park from the lake, being entitled, like many an old family, to the armorial motto "*Fuimus*," or, in plain English, being now no more ; the deer, which, feeding or in lair among the old oaks, would have given such finish and effect to the scene, were removed to an adjoining enclosure, and Shakespeare's Jaques, were he reposing and contemplating beside the stream in Virginia park, would have lacked that antlered illustration of his morbid and querulous morality.

The literary angler, delighted with his visit, then bids Loch Ramor farewell, "and farewell," he adds, "the kindly spirits that grace your shores."

I have to thank Father Meehan for much valuable help in the preparation of this paper.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

* See Lewis' *Topog. Dict.* s. v. "Virginia." But under "Lurgan" it gives the date as 1821 and the cost £2,492, etc., of which sum £1,846, etc., was a loan, and the remainder a contribution from the parishioners. According to the latter reference the Glebe House, built about 1814, cost £3,276, etc., of which £1,384, etc., was a loan and £92 a gift from the same Board. £3,276 is plainly an error. It should be £1,476, not an extravagant sum for a mansion erected in those days.

† Do. s. v. "Lurgan."

‡ *Ireland and Her Churches*, by James Godkin. London. Chapman and Hall, 1867. p. 483.

§ *Primate Colton's Visitation* A.D. 1397, edited by Rev. W. Reeves, D D, M.R.I.A., p. 115.

THE "HENRY IRELAND" PAMPHLET.

The "Henry Ireland" Pamphlet is a list of the townlands in each parish in County Cavan with the number of Carvaghs—a taxation unit—in each. It was published in Cavan town either in 1709 or 1790, the doubt arising from the fact that the printer makes the last three figures in the date of publication, which is in Roman numerals –IXO. The question, therefore, arises whether by –IXO he meant –90, or whether the final zero is an interloping misprint.

Messrs. E. R. McC. Dix and Seumas Casaide say without hesitation that 1790 was the date of publication. They state that 1709 would have been an impossibly early date for a work of the kind to have been produced in Cavan. Furthermore, it is known that the Ireland family was engaged in the printing trade in Cavan town as late as 1813, and a family engaged in an occupation of the kind for over a century might certainly have been expected to have left its mark in the way of tradition or in the records of the county. Of tradition there is apparently nothing to be learned nor from the records; all we can find is that a Henry Ireland had a vote in Cavan town in 1761.

Mr. Dix is, of course, the unquestioned authority on Irish bibliography, to the study of which he has practically devoted his lifetime, and Mr. Casaide's opinion is of such weight that when he differs from Mr. Dix the ordinary man is well entitled to conclude that the matter may be left to rest in doubt. In the present instance the two are of one mind, and the question ought to be outside the regions of permissible discussion.

Before I had read Mr. Dix's opinion, which originally appeared in the *Irish Book Lover*, I had, on purely internal evidence, come to the conclusion that the earlier of the two dates given should be accepted as that of publication. Strange to say, such further enquiry as I have since made seems to lend colour, if not confirmation, to that view. In a note such as this it is impossible to give more than the headings of the more important of the considerations which impelled me to the view I took.

(1) I know of two copies of the pamphlet—one in the Joly Collection of Pamphlets in the National Library, Dublin, the other in the possession of Mr. J. J. Matthews, Virginia. In each, strange to say, the year 1709 is written in ink under the date as printed. By whom or at what time this was done it is idle to speculate. That it was done in each case is certainly noteworthy.

(2) In the printed introduction to the pamphlet it is stated that its object was to set forth "the mode of applotting the Carvaghs as extracted from the late Road Act passed by the last meeting of Parliament." Now in the *Statistical Survey of County Cavan* Coote says definitely that the Carvagh system of taxation was introduced into Cavan in 1699. Coote is notoriously unreliable, but he wrote in 1801, and I think he could be relied upon not to make an error of nearly a century in a matter which, were the pamphlet published in 1790 to elucidate a recent Act of Parliament, would have occurred in his own life-time. Moreover, I have been able personally to verify Coote's accuracy in the present instance. The old eighteenth century Vestry Book of Kildallan parish, of which the Rev. Canon King has kindly allowed me make a copy, shows that the vestry was engaged "applotting the Carvaghs" in the very year in which the records commence, 1719. Unfortunately, although I had a search made, I could not trace the Road Act to which the pamphlet refers

(3) Regarding the lists of names of the townlands published at different times we in Cavan have been more fortunate than in other counties. We have fairly exhaustive enumerations, compiled at widely differing dates in the Elizabethan maps, the fiants, the leases of the Jacobean Plantation, the Down Survey, The Book of Distributions, the Hearth Money Roll, the Act of Settlement, the Census of 1821, and, finally, the Ordnance Survey. Careful examination of the name forms in the pamphlet shows that they are more like the Down Survey forms than those in the 1821 Census. In addition, there is in it a high percentage of townland names which are also found in the Down Survey and previous lists, and which had passed out of use at the time of the 1821 Census.

Unless, therefore, Henry Ireland resurrected and published in 1790 an old list which had lain in manuscript for close on a century I feel constrained to accept as a possible solution that Cavan town did have a printing establishment at least fifty years before any similar Irish county town.

Personally, however, I take very little interest in the bibliographical side of the question, but confess to a very deep, and hitherto unsatisfied, interest in the Carvagh system of taxation. This system was based not on the extent of the land held but on its productivity. For taxable purposes the county was originally divided into 8,000 units or Carvaghs, 1,000 to each barony. How long this original division held, I cannot say, but early in the eighteenth century we find Tullyhagh and Tullyhunco paying much less than the original 1,000 Carvaghs with which they were assessed; and by the time at which Coote wrote, 1801, Tullyhagh was paying instead of one-eighth of the total county taxation about one-twelfth.

The manner of applotment was interesting. Each barony had its total of Carvaghs assigned to it, and this total was further sub-divided into the number for each parish. When

the number for the parish was determined the parish vestry appointed applotters who made a careful estimate of the number of Carvaghs to be levied from each townland. This amount had no exclusive reference to the acreage of the townland, varying, if we may borrow the language of mathematics, jointly with the acreage and the productivity of the townland. Thus, a large mountain townland might have to pay only a fraction of a Carvagh in taxation, while a small productive townland might have to pay six or even seven Carvaghs.

It will at once be seen that if we had any data to go upon we might from the assessment of the Carvagh taxation at different periods deduce with absolute accuracy the growth of tillage and the rate at which land had been cleared and drained throughout the county. In addition to this, however, we could make more important deductions, partly of local and partly of a wider interest. From what we have said of the Carvagh it will be seen that it ought to provide at least a local solution to the much vexed question of the exact local meaning to be attached to the old Irish measures of land measurement, or at least to the Plantation system of land estimation. In neither was there much attention paid to the exact acreage: the quality of the land was the one thing looked to. Thus a "baile" on the mountain side would be a formidable parcel of land, a "baile" in the cleared level lowland might be little greater in extent than a modern townland. Similarly, a Jacobean or Commonwealth grant of 100 acres might contain anything up to fifteen or twenty times that extent in modern acreage if the land were barren, boggy or wooded. Many learned articles have been written on the subject, but none of them, not even the much-quoted R.I.A. papers of Reeves and Harding, take this fact into consideration at all. Similarly with our own local measurements, the Pole, Gallon, and Pottle in Cavan or the Tate in Oriel, the original grant often mentions the equivalent acreage of the Pole or the Tate and this fact has been fixed upon as showing that the Pole or the Tate did actually contain so many acres.

To obtain even a rough idea of the local extent of the Pole or the Tate we should have to apply the local corrective, a factor depending upon the productivity of the land. A study of the Carvaghs as estimated through the 18th century would enable us to frame a system of local and, of course, secular factors. Such a study is unfortunately impossible save in the one parish to which I have made reference.

I have never come across any printed reference to the Carvagh system except in the "Ireland" pamphlet and in Coote.

AN SCOLÁIRE BOCHT.

CAVAN COINS AND TOKENS.

There are a few Cavan coins which collectors are long in search of. If they be discovered anywhere, most likely it will be in the county.

The most important is the O'Reilly money. At a Parliament held in 1447, the third at Trim, an Act was passed against "Clipped money, O'Reilly's money, and other unlawful money." It was also prohibited in a Parliament held at Naas ten years later (v. this Journal, p. 115). No specimens of this O'Reilly coinage are, as far as can be discovered, in any museum or private collection; none are known to have survived. Most likely they were melted down and restamped. Still coins of them may have escaped destruction and, as "bad money," may be recognised any time. Keen connoisseurs have not despaired, but keep a sharp look-out for them.

Between 1653 and 1679 tokens, usually of copper, were issued in as many as 160 places in Ireland. None were put in circulation in Leitrim—there was no large town in the county—but in County Cavan the following individuals issued them:—

CAVAN TOWN.—John Ballard. A cast of a specimen of this token is in the Belfast Museum Collection. On the obverse of the coin is the name just given and the device of a swan. On the reverse—"In Cavan, 1667, I.M.B." On the reverse of many coins the initial of the wife's Christian name, as well as of her husband's, is given in the centre. Hence it may be conjectured that the final three letters, I.M.B., stand for "John and Mary (?) Ballard." As to the device, a swan was the sign of a very old house, No. 63 Main Street, which was burned down over 40 years ago. The token shows that the same sign existed, not improbably over the same house, or over a previous house on the same site, 200 years before that.

BALLYJAMESDUFF.—John Delin, 1668.

BELTURBET.—Robert Hares, 1d.; Richard Harrison, 1d.

KILLESHANDRA.—James Forrest, 1667.

Specimens of these coins are now very rare, if to be had at all; and, being rare, of course valuable.

Amongst the first merchants in Belfast to mint trade tokens were three brothers—James, John, and Michael Bigger. Each issued them between 1657 and 1666. The three brothers were

amongst the first enrolled as Belfast freemen, and the youngest was part owner of the first Belfast-owned merchant ship, the "Unicorn," in 1662. They lived in High Street, adjoining the old Market House, and had lands at Biggerstown, near Carnmoney. It is interesting to observe that the gentleman whose name heads our list of members is a descendant of these early settlers. It would be equally interesting to discover if any of our Cavan families can trace a connection back to any of the merchants above-mentioned, who must have been among the chief business people in the county eight generations ago.

J.B.M.

EPITAPHS IN DERVOR CHURCH-YARD.

PARISH OF LURGAN.

(Arranged in order of dates.)

Pray for the Soul of Patrick Fitzsimons
who died Dec. 27, 1725, aged 78 years.
Also James Fitzsimons who died Aug. 17, 1738
aged 57 years.

Pray for ye soul of William Keegan
who died March ye 7th, 1734,
aged 70 years.
Erected by Patrick Keegan

Here lyeth the body of
Charles Farrely who departed this
life April the 17th 1736 aged 58 years.
This stone was erected by his son
Edmond. Pray for his soul.

Here lieth ye body of James
Fitzsimon who died April 22nd 1739
aged 60 years. Erected by M F.

Here lyeth the body of James Farrely
of the family of Andrew Farrely who
departed this life November the 29th 1739
aged 20 years.
This stone was erected by
Matthew Farrely his son.
Pray for his soul.

Here lyeath the Body of
Catherin Feagan who Departed
Life the 17th Day of July 1740
aged 45.

Pray for ye soul of
Owen Lynch who died
March ye 5th 1749 aged 29 years

Pray for the soul of Catherine
Lynch who died February the 15th
1753 aged 82 years.

Here Lieth the Body of
Laurence Everard who departed
this Life June the 28th 1756,
aged 63 years.
Pray for his soule.
This stone was erected by his
son James Everard.

Here lyeath the body of
Michael Smith who Departed
this Life the 19th day of December
1757 aged 64 years.

Pray for the soul of
Margaret Cane who died
March ye 4th 1760
aged 25 years.

Pray for the soul of
John Connel who died September
ye 6th 1762 aged 57
Also for Margart Farrely his wife
who died Oct. ye 12th 1762.

Pray for the soul of Catherine
Mulvany who departed this life
January ye 7 : 1767 aged 52 years.
Erected by her son
Michael MaCabe.

Pray for the soul of Mary Reilly
who departed this Life
May ye 26th 1770 aged 35
Also for Terence Lynch.

Pray for the soul of
Rose quin who died Dec. ye 25th
1782 aged 72 years.

This Monument was erected A.D. 1793
by Conner Martin for him and his posterity
and in gratefull memory of his father
Charles Martin whose remains is here interred
He departed this life May 23rd 1787
aged 42 years.
(On the reverse the following is inscribed.)
Remember man as you pass by
As you are now so once was I,
As I am now so shall you be
Then think of death and pray for me.

Erected by Patrick Moynagh in memory
of his father Christr. Moynagh who
died 3rd Dec. 1796 aged 92 years
also his mother Ann Moynagh
alias Reilly died 20th Oct, 1788
aged 80 years. Also his son
Thomas Moynagh died 3rd April 1797
aged 16 years.

I H. O'C.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY RENT STRIKE.

Among the long notes in Connellan's *Four Masters*—each note a book in itself—is a translation of an ancient History of Fermanagh from an original Irish MS. (pp. 633—40). This History was compiled, it is thought, about the year 1740 from still older sources. It confines itself to the 14th century. As it contains refefences to Clogh Oughter Castle both as a prison, apparently well-known even beyond Breifny, and as a home of the O'Reillys, and also to Knockninny, in Kilmore diocese, it has a special interest for us. The central incident is the non-payment of his rents to the Maguire of the day and the troubles that arose out of it. Though 14th century, the narrative has such a 19th (not 20th) century flavour that it now and then provokes a smile. It can be given only in barest outline. Surely seven folio pages, double columned, of the smallest print, can hardly be presented otherwise.

Manus Maguire, son of Donn More (who appears to be the Donn More recorded under the year 1371) was the Chieftain of Fermanagh in those days. "His regal residence was Purt Dubhráin at Cnoc Ninne (Knockninny)"* (p. 634, column 2). Regularly, once a year, for thirty-five years, he started from Purt Dubhráin and went his rounds through his seven territories (now baronies) of Fermanagh, gathering his "regal rents"; and punctually they were paid him. Then, growing old, he became so crippled with rheumatism that he was unable to leave his home. He had even to be carried to table and carried from room to room. No longer, of course, could he make his rounds. The rents ceased. For three years not a penny (or its 14th century Irish equivalent) was paid (Do.).

The O'Flanagans, the O'Muldoons, the MacGulsenans, etc., etc., were as submissive and deferential as ever to their overlord; but "they put on the resolution not to pay rents to anyone, until he himself should come to receive them in the usual manner" (p. 634, c. 2), knowing perfectly well the impossibility of his doing this. Manus was indignant at the no-rent manifesto, for that is what it amounted to. He insisted on his legal rights. As a representative or agent was no use, he at last ordered his "retinue troops" to go and collect his arrears and rents up to date.

O'Flanagan of Tura, barony of Magheraboy, was the first

* The Hill of St. Nennidh (pr. Ninny) or St. Ninny one-eyed. He was founder of the famous Abbey of Innismacsaint in Lough Erne and died,

called upon. He replied in the exact words of "the resolution," chopped logic, and refused. Whereupon the retinue (not revenue) troops made a seizure of the cows and cattle, etc., on the land and drove them off. But they were pursued and overtaken. While the mêlée was raging—a mêlée in which fifteen of the collectors or bailiffs and at least as many more of the O'Flanagans were killed—the light-footed O'Flanagan cowboys came along behind backs and drove back the cattle (p. 634, c. 2).

If Manus was wroth before he was ten times more exasperated then, when he heard of the rescue, the breach of the peace, and the death of his friends. His sons were young and feeble. He had a younger brother, however, Gilla Iosa, who was strong and active. Gilla Iosa was then staying with his grandfather, O'Reilly of Breifny (at Clogh Oughter). So Manus wrote to him to come at once to Knockninny, and make no delay. Gilla Iosa obeyed. Manus despatched him to Ballyshannon to their half-brother O'Donnell (son of the same mother) for assistance. O'Donnell forthwith sent back with him his trusty Constables, O'Boyle, O'Gallagher, and the three MacSweenys, and besides 700 well-armed Tirconnell men (p. 636, c. 2).

Thus reinforced, Gilla Iosa began anew the rent-collecting round-up.

The first place he visited was Tura, the O'Flanagan territory. He was stern. He would hold no parley about rents or arrears with peace-breakers, but then and there hand-cuffed or clapped into chains every head of a house and sent them all under a strong escort to Knockninny (p. 636, c. 2).

Next he came to Lurg. O'Muldoon and the other sub-chiefs of that district hastened to call on him, and profusely welcomed him into their country. They came, too, loaded with presents, mead and ale, eatables and choice drinkables. Gilla received them most courteously. Not to be outdone, he entertained them lavishly with "delicious palatable meats, and well-flavoured exhilarating potations." But he was not to be cajoled. They proferred the rent. But no rent could be accepted under any consideration unless at Knockninny. And to Knockninny they had to go (p. 637, c. 1).

Gilla and the Constables then started for Tir-Ceannfhada (now the barony of Tirkennedy) inhabited by the clan MacGulsenan and "other tribes." The MacGulsenans were equally overjoyed to see him and equally hospitable. "Choicest meats and all sorts of liquors" abounded "until the rising of the sun on the morrow." More, they were willing, nay, anxious, they declared, to pay the rent due, and why not, since he was his honoured brother's representative. But they were so sorry, "they hadn't it at present." On the spot he made prisoners of them, and read them a long lecture on the iniquity of their proceedings for the last three years in withholding lawful rights. But he soon mollified,

the lecture over, and took their word for it, that they would go like another before their liege-lord, Manus, at Knockninny. So he released them on *parole*; and to Knockninny the MacGulsenans, too, had to march (p. 637, c. 2.)

In this fashion "he did not halt or stop until he went the circuit of those seven territories of Fermanagh (Do.)."

Every man of them kept his word, turned up before Manus at Purt Dubhráin House, Knockninny, on the day appointed, paid his rent and arrears, and was let off with a caution. "Bind yourselves by an oath and a pledge," Gilla commanded, "that . . . . you will pay your rents periodically as it behoves you to do, and if you do not I shall send you to Lough Oughter, and I swear to you by the solemn oaths I am accustomed to make that you shall not leave that until you are glad that sureties be taken on your behalf . . . ." And they solemnly pledged themselves on the Duibhenach (p. 637, c. 2).

The ring-leaders of the no-rent combination, the O'Flanagans, had been kept apart, still in custody. They were not let down so easily. The rent was graciously accepted from them as "they had it with them"; but that and all, nothing but Clogh Oughter stared them in the face. At last the Tirconnell Constables pleaded for leniency. Gilla Iosa could not well refuse. But he turned to the arch-offenders and assured them that were it not for this intercession "I would not be a day older until you should be on Cloch Oughter, where you might get enough of law." He left the decision of the case to the Constables. The fine, or eric, for the killing of fifteen men in the riot, they imposed was heavy enough—700 milch cows. They promised to be good for the future, and all ended well (p. 638, c. 2).

Gilla Iosa, his work well accomplished, was for returning to his "grandfather's house in Brefney." Should he be again needed, "Cloch-Uachtair," he reminded Manus, his brother, "is near* you to send me an account and I shall be with you without delay" (639, c. 1). He was, however, prevailed upon not to leave Knockninny, and eventually he succeeded his brother as Chief or Prince of the Maguire country.

From this history it is a fair deduction that Clogh Oughter Castle was a dwelling-place as well as a strong and well-known prison. MacRannall's Castle of Lough Scur was exactly the same. The authority is not so safe as the *F.M.* themselves or anything like it; but it is sufficiently reliable. The narrator was probably an ollave of the Maguires. James Maguire, a Fermanagh man, is supposed to have compiled the history about the year 1740 from very old MSS. of the O'Clerys of Donegal (p. 633, c. 1.) The work of this learned scribe is also extant in a MS. Life of St. Mogue. (See p 344.) W. R.

* It is within a dozen miles of Knockninny.

OLD IRISH LAND MEASURES.

The *Carvagh* as a unit of land tax is very ancient in Ireland. The term is derived from Ceathramadh, signifying a quarter from ceathair, meaning four. It was used to designate the quarters into which the Ballybets were divided (see Journal, p. 206). It is written in various forms as "carew," "carucate," "carrow," and "carhoo," the latter of which gives the correct pronunciation very closely. In Cavan place-names the form *carvagh* occurs, e.g., "The Three Carvaghs," a townland near Bailieboro'; elsewhere it is usually "Carrow" or "Cartron."

The four quarters were usually distinguished by their respective natural characteristics, e.g., shape or quality of the land. After the Anglo-Norman invasion the acre was introduced as the principal standard of land measurement. The term *cartron* (French *quarteron* from the mediæval Latin *Quarteronus*) meaning a quarter, then came into use, and was adopted mostly in the districts under Norman influence. It occurs in Cavan in the townland name Cartronnagilta.

In the absence of an absolute standard of measurement, it is not easy to establish definitely the extent of a Ballybet. Joyce (*Soc. Hist.*, vol. II., p. 372), following Keating, places it at 3,600 English acres. Reeves and Harding (*Trans.* R. I. A., Vol. XXIV.) by the method, obviously unsound, of taking the number of Ballybets in the whole country, as recorded by Keating, and calculating the average value, obtained 1,000 to 1,200 acres as a probable value. But as Joyce (*op. cit.*) remarks, "All this is on the supposition that in the old estimate the whole surface was included, waste as well as arable land." It is evident that all calculations based on such an assumption must be very unreliable. The Ballybet (Baile Biadhtach) was a tract of arable land allotted to the public victualler, free of rent, in return for which he was bound to dispense hospitality to travellers, and to the chief's soldiers whenever they might be passing by. It was calculated, according to the Brehon Law, to suffice for the upkeep of 300 cows. The extent of land allotted for this purpose varied with the quality of the country and the bogs, woods, rivers, etc., were thrown in. Only the profitable or arable land was counted.

As the work of reclamation went on from century to century, the total acreage of the Ballybet continued on contract. Hence a Ballybet in parts of the county where only a little of the land had been profitable, would cover a much greater area than in districts where the work of clearing had been carried out on a larger scale. It is evident under such circumstances that the method of averages adopted by Reeves and Harding must fail to yield any reliable results.

The smallest political unit in ancient Ireland was the *Tuath* or *Triucha*, and was sub-divided, according to Keating, as follows:—

1 *Tuath* = 30 *Ballybets*.
1 *Ballybet* = 12 *Seisreachra* or ploughlands.
1 *Seisreach* = 120 Irish acres.

The term Tuath (which Zeuss translates as *populus*) appears to have been originally applied to a tribe and thence to tribal territory. The modern Baronies, often translated "Cantreds," more or less nearly represent the ancient Tuatha. The Seisreach (derived from reiread, six, and each, a horse) denoted the extent of land which a six-horse plough would turn up in a year. The *Carvagh* was equal to three seisreachra. The acre, calculated on the same basis as the other units, is equally difficult to determine. According to Keating (Forus Feasa air Éirinn. ed. by Joyce, p. 37): "The acre of the measure of the Gaels is twice or thrice greater than the acre of the division of the Galls or English now." In the Plantation and Commonwealth confiscations, only the arable land was counted. The present (so-called) *Irish* acre was introduced at the period of the Plantations in the early 17th century, and is about once and a half the size of an English acre. In ancient times all Ireland contained 184 Tuatha, which would give the old Irish acreage of the whole country as roughly eight million. The present English acreage is nearly 21 millions, which would yield approximately Keating's estimate. But the fact that only the arable land is included in the estimate of the Tuatha invalidates the final result.

The *Annals* have frequent mention of the *Biadhtacha* or public hospitallers. The *Four Masters* record A.D. 1225, "Auliff O'Boland, Erenach of Drumclift, a wise and learned man, and a general *biatach*, died."

The areas of sub-divisions of the Ballybet, viz., the Poll, Gallon, Pottle, Pint, etc., would depend on the extent of the major unit, and can only be deduced when the arable, not total, acreage of the Ballybet is finally determined.

P. O'C.

NOTABLE BREIFNY INDIVIDUALS

I.—VERY REV. HUGH CANON BRADY (d. 1669),

Rector of Louvain.

In reply to inquiries about the above-named Rector the following letter appeared in *The Tablet* of Oct. 14, 1922 :—

"THE IRISH COLLEGE, LOUVAIN.

"To the Editor of *The Tablet*.

"SIR,— . . . . . Brady was a native of Brefny (Breniensis). He entered as a student at Louvain on December 18, 1620, among the "Castrenses Páuperes." He tells us himself that he did his course of Humanities at the College of the Most Holy Trinity. In what year he passed to the Irish College I cannot say, but in 1637 he received his Orders "vigore indulti concessi Seminario Ibernorum Lovanii," and "titulo missionis Hiberniæ." On the occasion of his ordination to the Diaconate, December 19, 1637, he was described as "Jurium Licentiatus." In 1639 he was appointed "extraordinarius professor Legum" in the University, becoming, at the same time, a Minor Canon of St. Pierre. Later, but at what precise date I cannot say, he became "Professor Ordinarius" and a Major Canon. About the year 1643 he was appointed President of the College of St. Anne, a position which he held for twenty-six years. In August, 1660, and again in August, 1663, he was elected Rector of the University, his predecessor in that office having been his countryman Sinnich, and his successor, another Irishman and Canonist, Thomas Stapleton. It is interesting to note that Sinnich was Rector of Louvain twice, and Stapleton seven times. On April 16, 1663, Brady succeeded Jacobus Santvoert as "Professor Primarius Juris Pontificii," and held that chair until his death in 1669. He was buried in the church of St. Pierre. In the church of the Irish Dominicans, to the left of the High Altar, a memorial window, no doubt erected by himself, bore the following inscription :—

"Claritate Dextrae.

"R^dus A^dum Illustris. Amplissmus ac Clarissimus Dnus D. Hugo
Brady, eques, Juris utriusque
Doctor et Professor Primarius
Prothonotarius Aplicus, Collegii
Stae Annae Praeses, insignis Eccles.
D. Petri apud Lovanienses
Canonicus, Toparcha de
Corgave, Dronihu . . . Balahes . . . Dromlif. 1666.

"I transcribe the last names of the inscription as I found them in my sources. Perhaps some one well acquainted with the topography of Brefny may be able to throw some light on them.

Brady had some difficulties with the University authorities in 1649, and for a short time was obliged to leave Louvain. He presented his case, however, to the Spanish King, and returned "summo triumpho et frequentibus bombardarum explosionibus in suo Collegio, affixitque publice ad valvas Sti Petri quod die crastina resumit lectiones aliquamdiu intermissas."

"Yours, etc.,

"BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

"Merchants' Quay, Dublin."

This year (1922) there was published at Nieupoort a learned work whose principle title is *Erin*. It contains a very full account of the Irish College, Louvain ("Collegium Pastorale Hibernorum"), as well as those of Antwerp, Tournai, Lille, and Douay, and also of the Irish Dominican and Franciscan Colleges in Louvain. The author is a Belgian Premonstratensian whose pen-name is "A. O'Flanders." In it Canon Brady is described as "one of the most brilliant professors of Law at the University."

—*The Tablet*, Oct. 7 and 14, 1922.

II.—ALEXANDER NESBITT, LISMORE, CO. CAVAN (d. 1885).

"He came of an ancient Scottish family long established in Ireland, and was distinguished in many branches of archæology. His first attention seems to have been attracted to Gothic architecture, especially in connection with the domestic buildings, of which but scanty remains exist in this country [England]. With his pen and pencil he assisted J. H. Parker in his well-known work on *Domestic Architecture*, and to Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* he contributed the articles on "Church," "Baptistery," etc.

In 1859 (when his address was above and in Sussex) he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and contributed papers on "The Brick Architecture of the North of Germany," "On the Churches of Rome earlier than 1150," "On a Box of Carved Ivory of the Sixth Century," "Wall Decoration in Sectile Work as used by the Romans," which were printed in *Archæologia*. [He was High Sheriff of Cavan in 1862]. His memoirs on "St. Peter's Chair" and on the "Jewelled Covers of the Ashburnham Evangelia Quatuor" appeared in *Vetusta Monumenta*. He was a frequent contributor to the Journals of the R. Arch. Institute and of the Sussex Arch. Society, of both of which he was a member. He died 21 June, 1885."

—Proceedings Soc. Ant. Lond. 1887, p. 372.

III.—PATRICK DONAHOE (1811—1901).

Donahoe's Magazine is a well-known monthly periodical of light literature published in Boston, U.S. It was founded by Patrick Donahoe who was born in the townland of Munnery, in the parish of Kilmore, Cavan, on 17th March, 1811. This parish's records go no further back than 1845, so his name is not to be had. In 1821, when a boy of ten, he accompanied his parents to Boston. There he became a printer and publisher. In 1836 he established the Irish-American newspaper, *The Pilot*.* He was wonderfully bountiful to all the charitable institutions of the city and especially to those for destitute children. The University of Notre Dame, Indiana, confers annually a medal of honour on the American citizen who has done signal service in the cause of religion and country. This, the Laetare Medal, has the merit of being generally more appropriate than an honorary degree. In 1893 it was bestowed on Mr. Donahoe. He died on 18th March, 1901. He was a fine type of the able, kind-hearted Irishman, on whose character is engrafted American push. He attained great wealth and influence in Boston, and all the city mourned his loss.

—*Donahoe's Magazine*, April, 1901.

IV.—JOSEPH HENRY McGOVERN (1850—1922).

The late J. H. McGovern, L.R.I.B.A., was of Breifny origin, but was born in Liverpool on October 24, 1850. As one of the leading architects of that city, he wrote many articles and four important works. Outside of his professional duties he had a keen, almost passionate, interest in Irish history, more particularly in so far as it affected the Breifny clan from which he sprung. On his favourite subject he published :—

I.—*An Irish Sept*—1886. This was written conjointly with his brother, Rev. J. B. McGovern, one of our members.

II.—*How one of the McGovern or McGauran Clan won the Victoria Cross*—1889.

III.—*Historic Notices of the MacGauran or McGovern Clan*—1890.

Besides writing the professional works and the three books just mentioned, he frequently contributed articles and notes to *Notes and Queries*. Among them the following bear on Breifnian questions :—

(1) Heraldic : McGovern or McGauran Clan—Feb., 1887 ; (2) McGovern Castles—Aug., 1889 ; (3) Royal Cemetery of Clonmacnoise—May, 1891 ; (4) Irish Bells—July, 1891 and Oct., 1892 ; (5) Gavelkind—April, 1892 ; (6) O'Rourke's Feast—Sept., 1893 ; (7) The Three Septs of Gauran or Govern—April,

* John Boyle O'Reilly (1844-1890), born at Dowth, near Drogheda, became its editor in 1870 and part proprietor from 1876 until his death.

1893, pp. 282 and 382 ; (8) Pedigree of Major Ed. McGauran—October, 1893 ; (9) Primate McGauran or McGovern—Dec., 1893, Jan., Feb., and May, 1894 ; (10) St. Mogue's or St. Ninicu's Island—Feb., 1894 ; (11) A Martyr Bishop of Armagh—June, 1899.

Among the numerous other notable labours of his pen there should not be omitted : "Legends, Traditions, and Customs of Historic Tullyhaw," a paper read to the Liverpool Literary Society in 1896 and printed in *The Crescent* ; and "The McGovern Name in Eccl. History," article in the *C. Herald*, June 5, 1909. His last traceable production is on Magh Sleacht and appeared in *The British Architect*, September, 1915.

He was a genuine antiquary and all his work bears the stamp of painstaking research. He died at his Liverpool residence on Nov. 24, 1922.

V.—MARGARET OF NEW ORLEANS (1813—1882).

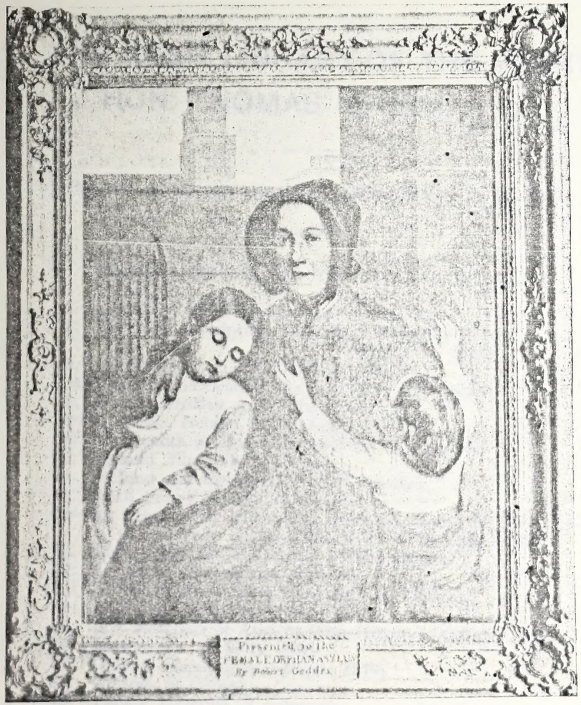
Margaret was a large-hearted, deeply religious woman, a woman of surprising business ability as well as of unsurpassed charity. In her adopted home, New Orleans, she founded and endowed Orphanages and Industrial Schools, and there she was known as "The Lady of the City," and "The Mother of the Orphans." Her work remains. On her death, 10th Feb., 1882, she was accorded a public funeral. It was an unprecedented demonstration of respect and gratitude. Children of her three Catholic Homes, of as many Protestant ones, as well as of German, Jewish, and coloured Orphanages followed the bier. The Mayor of the city and the Governor and ex-Governor of the State were among the pall-bearers ; U. S. Generals and a host of representative men, regardless of sect or colour, were among the throngs of mourners. On the spot the citizens set about erecting a monument to her memory. It was unveiled amidst great civic pomp on July 10th, 1884. It is said to be the first statue raised to a woman in America.

Margaret was born beside Killeshandra* in 1813. She was the fifth child of a farmer, William Gaffney. Her mother, another Margaret, was of the O'Rourkes of Tully, parish of Carrigallen. Her parents emigrated in 1818 taking with them Margaret, then five, an elder brother and a baby sister. The three eldest remained with their uncle, Matthew O'Rourke of Tully.† About 1840 one of them, Thomas, married a Miss Cath. Healy of Ardlogher (Holles), the marriage ceremony, as was then not unusual, taking place at the bride's home.‡ Subsequently he and his family also

* Probably in Tully, parish of Carrigallen, but the point is under investigation.

† A man of this name died in this townland in 1856 and another in 1859 (Carrigallen Parish Records, which go back to 1830). They were cousins, and one or other is the uncle referred to.

‡ Their child, Mary, was baptised on 3rd October, 1843. (Parish Records).



Margaret of New Orleans.

(Photograph of an Oil Painting in New Orleans)

went to America, to Baltimore. The oldest two-storied house in the townland of Tully was built by him and was for a time his residence. It is now occupied by Mr. Pat Briody.

Margaret's parents, on landing, had also settled down in Baltimore. Four years later, in 1822, both were, within a few days of each other, carried off by a plague, and all their effects were burned as a precaution. The infant had died, her little brother got separated from her and was never heared of again ; so at the age of nine Margaret, the future celebrated Margaret, was alone on the waves of the world—a homeless, friendless orphan, in a strange city.

She was reared by a Mrs. Richards, but apparently was never sent to school. She somehow learned to read, but could never write even her name. In 1835 she married Charles Haughery and they went to live in New Orleans. The next year he died and her baby soon followed him.

From her infant's death all the affection in her mother's heart was transferred to the little waifs about her, the scores that nobody cared for in that southern metropolis. Her thoughts and indefatigable labours were for them alone. Her efforts were blessed with success. Soon everything she touched seemed to turn to gold ; but all her gains were for a single object—the help of the poor and the support of her beloved destitute children. She was a mother to all of them. In her Will, to which she affixed her mark, she bequeathed her wealth to the Orphan Asylums of New Orleans. She forgot no one, Catholic, Jew, or Protestant, white or black. "They are all orphans alike," she said, "and I was once an orphan."

Her statue bears no laudatory inscription, nothing but her name MARGARET. It needs none. On the occasion of its unveiling, the city Press with one accord, voicing, as they said, the universal opinion of the people, proclaimed this almost illiterate woman as "the most deservedly eminent, the most justly famous of all the women of New Orleans of our own generation or of any other in the whole history of the city." These are the very words of a leading New Orleans paper's editorial. It added a quotation : "Many daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all."

—Her Centenary Biography, 1913, communications from her niece, from her nephew in Baltimore, and from others.

J. B. M.

(To be continued).

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LITERARY NOTES.

There has been published this year (1922) *Bethada Náem nErenn, Lives of Irish Saints,* edited from the original Irish MSS. by Rev. Charles Plummer, M.A., Hon. D.D. (Durham), Fellow and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The work is in two volumes (£2 2s. 0d. net). Vol. I has the ancient Irish texts, Vol. II their translation into English, minutely annotated. The production is of special interest to our Society as it contains two independent Lives of St. Maedoc or Mogue, a saint who in Southern Ireland is usually called Aidan (b.c. 555—d.c. 632).

They are of unequal length. The shorter, 7 pages of text and 7 of translation, is from a Stowe MS. in the R.I.A., Dublin. The other is by far the longest Life given, and occupies a third of the entire work. The Irish text, 101 pages, is a faithful transcript from one of the O'Clery MSS. housed in the Royal Library, Brussels. This particular MS. Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan lay-brother, and one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters, wrote down in 1629. He copied it from the book which Fintan O'Cuirnin wrote for Partholan (Bartholomew) O'Fergusa. Of this he informs us in a note appended to the end of it; and then he goes on to tell how Fintan himself had compiled it from still older books. The O'Clery MS. is collated by Plummer with two others, an Irish MS. Life of the Saint in the R.I.A., written by James Maguire in 1721, and a similar Irish Life preserved in T.C.D., which was written by Hugh O'Daly in 1737.

The O'Cuirnins, it should be mentioned, were hereditary ollavs and historians of Breifny and of the O'Rourkes, its overchiefs. In 1416 their MSS. were burned by a disastrous fire in Church Island, Lough Gill (F.M.)— an irreparable loss to Breifnian early history. The O'Fergusa (or Fergusons) were hereditary erenachs of Rossinver, an abbey church which occupies a large space in this Life. Their descendants are there still.

The sentence printed on the title page of this No. of the Journal is not an excerpt from either of the Lives just described. It is taken from a 16th century Irish MS. Life of St. Mogue in the possession of one of our members, Mr. R. V. Walker. Mr. Walker also furnished the translation and it was made long before the appearance of Plummer's work.

The circumstances in which the blessing was uttered are worth recalling, and we take them from Plummer's Life, No. II. Accord-

ing to it, when it was revealed to Mogue by an angel that the end of his days was approaching he left Ferns and came back to Drumlane. Having appointed his friend, Faircellach, coarb of Drumlane—and Faircellach's descendants, the O'Farrelys, ever afterwards filled the office—he went from thence to Rossinver "to the sod of his burial and resurrection." Then "he sent a messenger in haste to Kildallan to fetch Dallan Forgall to be witness to his (testamentary) disposition and will . . . . ." St. Dallan was his first cousin, he and Mogue being children of two brothers. On Dallan taking his departure from Rossinver he sent with him "eastward," the general blessing to all Breifnians quoted. Moreover, he also commissioned Dallan to convey a special blessing both to "the descendants of Dunchad (Tullyhunco), the pleasant friendly band," and to "the house of Eochaid (Tullyhaw)—

> The hardy plundering host,
> They have as sod of possession
> The well-known sod of my birth."

A year after this, "on the last day of January precisely," 626,* Mogue passed to his reward at Rossinver, and there he was buried.

It has to be observed that almost all the second-hand authorities on the point—Usher, Ware, Lanigan, etc.—have it that the saint died at Ferns and was there interred. The ultimate authorities are the ancient MS. Lives, Latin and Irish. The O Clery Irish MS. Life of 1629 (corroborated by four or five other MS. transcripts of O'Cuirnin that are known of) is the sole one that states clearly and explicitly where he died and was buried; and it says Rossinver. "The other Lives certainly give the impression, though they do not actually state, that Maedoc died at Ferns . . . ."† Should Rossinver fail to be generally accepted, in any future debate on the question it will not be found easy to set aside the positive and circumstantial evidence of the O'Clery MS. About Rossinver Mogue's name is as familiar as St. Patrick's.

This place, it may be mentioned, is in N. Leitrim on the S.E. angle of Lough Melvin, in the present parish of Ballaghameehan. Rossinver graveyard, in its centre ruins of a church and monastery, marks the spot. The whole parish (of which the one just mentioned was but a part) once took its name from it, as did also the Kilmore Lower Deanery. The extensive civil parish of Rossinver still remains and the name is used in all legal documents. But ecclesiastically it has disappeared; it is unheard nowadays.

* So Plummer—Introduction, p. xxxiv. Neither of the two Irish Lives names the year. The F.M. gives 624; Lanigan (Eccl. Hy. II, p. 339), following Usher and Ware, assigns 632. All of them, however, agree on the 31st Jan. O'Curry goes minutely into the question (*MS. Materials,* p. 107) and shows that the so-called *Annals of Boyle* support Usher's date, 632. The best evidence available places his birth between A.D. 550 and 560.

†Plummer, II, p. 356.

and cannot be found in any accessible R. C. Ordo. About the beginning of the 19th c., Rossinver was sub-divided into three parishes, namely, Kinlough (=head of the lake), Glennade, and Ballaghameehan, the latter two assuming and perpetuating the time-honoured titles of their districts.* Neither in the 1705 list of Leitrim Priests and their Parishes nor in Bishop Richardson's list of 1750 † does any one of the three terms occur. Rossinver parish is mentioned in both, and more than once in each—an indication of its 18c. extent and importance. In the latter document the name "Rossinver Deanery" is also recorded. But this ancient title for the N. Leitrim deanery has also fallen into disuse; and so is history cloaked and hidden away and a link dropped connecting this portion of the Kilmore diocese with a Kilmore saint, and he perhaps its greatest. A stanza of one of the poems in the Brussels MS. reads, when translated:—

> "The high churches of Maedoc are these,
> Drumlane and Ferns,
> And virginal Rossinver,
> Heaven to every one who shall honour them."‡

This is not Dr. Plummer's maiden effort in Irish hagiology The book just described is intended as a supplement to *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 2 vols., brought out by him in 1910 (32s. net.). The texts are ancient Latin Lives. These are presented untranslated, but most carefully edited and annotated.

The earlier work is of equal interest to the members of our Society. It, too, contains two Lives of St. Mogue. One of them is a reproduction of a Latin MS. in the Marsh Library, Dublin. The shorter Irish Life in Plummer's later issue is an abbreviation of it but contains no trace of the other, an older Latin Life. The 1910 work has also a Latin Life of Molaise of Devenish, a saint closely connected with N. Leitrim. An ancient MS. biography of Molaise in Irish is also extant, but as it had already appeared in an English dress (in O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica*) Plummer did not think it well to include it in his later work. Molaise and Mogue were in life such close friends that according to the Brussels MS. "it is not right to supplicate or mention Mogue without Molaise, or Molaise without Mogue."

By a family the name of Ward, who lived between Rossinver and Garrison, there was long preserved an ancient MS. Life of one or other of these saints—it cannot be said which. About fifty years ago, the Wards say, a gentleman from Dublin took it away with him, No further trace of it can be found. Plummer's wonderful industry helps to reconcile us with its disappearance. Not unlikely it was a duplicate of some one of the Lives on the

* Cp. F.M., Index, and the Onomasticon.
† *Arch Hib.*, V, p. 133. ‡ Plummer, II, p. 271.

elucidation of which this erudite Fellow of Oxford University has spent a great part of his life-time and edited with such scrupulous and scholarly care.

Both of Plummer's works were printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. At the University Press, Cambridge, a few months after the appearance of his last, there was produced a somewhat similar work (Irish text and its translation) which owing to one circumstance also bears for us a special interest—*Togail ná Tebe, The Thebaid of Statius*, edited by George Calder (42s. net—the cost is an index to its elaborateness). The book is reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement*, April 19, 1923, p. 260. From the review we quote and condense what concerns us.

In the Middle Ages there were in Irish numerous versions of the classic epics, not to speak of other Latin and Greek writings, and the Story of Aeneas and the Tale of Troy Divine were as familiar to our countrymen as they are to-day. In those distant times Statius, a poet of the Latin Silver Age—he died A.D. 96—was everywhere in great vogue, and his Thebaid was rendered into all the cultivated vernacular tongues of Europe. Boccaccio (1313—1375) borrowed extensively from it, and Chaucer (c. 1328—1400) and John Lydgate (c. 1370—1460) re-borrowed from Boccaccio. "The Irish were early in the field of Statitian adaptation, ..." The Thebaid was translated into their language "at a late 12th c. date," the reviewer thinks, but Dr. Calder, the editor, implies "not later than the middle of the 11th." At all events even the former date is two centuries before the time at which Boccaccio flourished. It is an extremely free translation, which "is not Statius, but something forceful and native put in his place."

This version of the poem was handed down in Ireland by the ordinary channels of MS. transmission. The Cambridge work prints it from two MSS., one a British Museum MS. "written in 1487 in the barony of Tullyhaw, Co. Cavan, by Diarmaid bacach Mac Parrthalain . . . ., the other an Edinburgh MS. of somewhat earlier date, written by two scribes, one of them an O'Farrel, presumably a Longford man."

> Dr. Calder thinks [the reviewer continues] that this MS. [the second, we take it] was written in a monastery; but this is very improbable at this date, when books were written either in the schools of poetry, history, and law, or by the hereditary doctors [ollavs]. So far as our evidence goes, the monasteries, once the chief centres of Irish culture, no longer in the 14th and 15th centuries maintained any activity in the native literature, which had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the hereditary castes.

We have failed to discover any particulars about the Tullyhaw scribe of 1487. That his labours deserve editing and translating in the 20th c. by a distinguished University man is a sufficient monument to him and his love of classic literature.

As the documents relating to Breifny housed in the P.R.O., Dublin, rarely dated further back than 1584, when it was divided into two counties, their destruction in the burning of the Four Courts is not quite so disastrous for us as it is both for the southern counties and for those interested in the general history of the country. It shuts up, however, one of our most authoritative sources of information. Hence, every scrap already abstracted assumes a ten-fold value, and no apology is needed for their publication no matter how long or apparently trivial they may be.

It may be mentioned that among the original Wills, once preserved in this repository, those of the five C. Bishops who succeeded each other in Kilmore from 1728 till 1798, were copied down over ten years ago and are reproduced in the *Arch. Hiber.*, Vol. I, pp. 182—190. They throw much light on their residence, means and character.

In a vacation search made in 1921, which unfortunately was not exhaustive, some Cavan Wills were come across and taken down. Three of them have already been quoted in this volume. Besides these and all the Coote Wills, a few others were noted. The letters of administration, for instance, of "Hugh Riley, Roman Priest, late of Lisnanaugh in the parish of Ballintemple" were rescued. They are dated 4th October, 1741. In the 1705 Registry of Priests a Hugh Riley, aged 32 and 6 years ordained, is given as P.P. of the same parish. There can hardly be a doubt but he is one and the same. In 1704 he lived at Garrymore and his two sureties for £50 each were William Cross of "Dromonum" and John Foster of Dromlyon. In the Kilmore *Will and Grant Book* II, 6—44, 1693—1727, there was also come upon the Wills of Owen Farrelly, "Priest in Bryan Reilly(s) of Drumaleis," p. 258, and of Thomas Cole. Nothing further is known of either. The latter's Will was signed by "Timothaeus, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, A.D. 1715."

This is Dr. Timothy Godwin. He succeeded in 1713 Dr. Edw. Wetenhall on whose famous Greek Grammar seven-eighths of the young classical students of Ireland were brought up for close on two centuries. Bishop Godwin was translated to Cashel in 1727. When dying, two years later, he left £20 to the Charity-School in the parish of Kilmore.* It seems probable that this was the School established by Bedell. The school-house still exists. Erected certainly before 1641 and probably not long after 1629 it is, as far as can be found out, the oldest building of the sort in Ulster. It is to the left on the old road heading by the Farnham side-gates for Lisnamandra. It is arched overhead, and so solidly, as well as tastefully, built that it is not unlikely to last for a second 300 years. Some time ago it was converted into a dwelling-house.

* Ware's *Bishops*, p. 245.

An interesting Will, dated 1699, was that of Thomas Philips of Cavan. He directed that his mortal remains should be interred "in the friends' burying place called the Quakers' Burying Place at the Cavan towne's end." Where this cemetery was no one can now say.

On the occasion mentioned there was postponed for future examination an Inquisition on Cavan Monastery, Eliz. No. 7, an Inquisition of 100 Reillys with titles, etc., Eliz., 4, 5, etc., and James I, etc., and Parliamentary Returns of Kilmore and Ardagh dioceses. These documents can now be made use of only, it is to be feared, at the Greek Kalends..

The Nesbitts, of whom one is mentioned at p 337, were long among the leading families of Co. Cavan. The list of High Sheriffs for the County from 1660 till 1895 is complete and without a gap.* It shows that William N. held this office in 1709, Thomas in 1720, Cosby in 1764, Thomas in 1769, Cosby in 1798, John in 1840, and Alexander in 1862. It is to be remembered that during his year of office the High Sheriff was in civil matters the most important individual in a county; within it he took precedence even of noblemen.

Cosby of 1764, who was also Member for Cavan Borough from 1750 till 1768 (see pp. 95, 98, and 105) and who resided at Lismore Castle, Crossdoney, married Anne (settlement dated 17th Sept., 1743) d. of John Enery of Bawnboy who was High Sheriff in 1738 and died in 1756. Anne's mother was d. of Thomas Nixon of Kingstown, Co. Fermanagh and sister of Rev. Adam Nixon M.A., Vicar of Clontibret. Rev. W. Enery, D.D., Rector of Killeshandra (d. 20th Feb., 1764) was Anne's eldest b.† He voted in the Cavan election of 1761. In the same election Cosby Nesbitt was agent for Coote and Montgomery, and displayed great energy in objecting on their behalf. In 1797 Cavan had 94 Magistrates.‡ Among them are Thomas and Rev. Albert Nesbitt.

The Irish Quarterly, *Studies*, in its March and September issues of this year (1922) has an article on Cenn Faelad under the title "A Pioneer of Nations." The article is by Professor Eoin MacNeill, D.Litt., and is mainly inductive. It is of universal antiquarian interest; but as a contribution to the history of Tuaim Drecon in Breifny it would be a serious loss to miss it. A few things condensed from its 28 pages may give an idea of its special importance to our Society. For the considerations supporting the statements the reader has to be referred to the article itself.

Cenn Faelad [b. *circa* 618, d. 679] was of royal blood, eligible by birth to the kingship; but it is with him as a literary innovator

* List supplied by J. F. Bigger, Esq., M.R.I.A.

† From an unpublished MS. of Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A.

‡ List, taken from *The Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanac*, 1797, also supplied by Mr. Bigger.

and genius that Irishmen are mainly concerned. Like St. Ignatius of Loyola his career was due to an accident. At the battle of Moira, fought near Lisburn in 638,* he was laid low with a cloven skull. Forthwith he was hurried off for treatment far away from the County Down battlefield to Breifny O'Reilly to the greatest surgeon of the day, Briccine. Briccine, or Bricin, taught as well as practised at Tuaim Drecon near Belturbet. The name of this famous seat of learning, one of Ireland's early universities, is disguised—and, at least on paper, well disguised—in the present title of a Kilmore parish or half-parish, Tomregin.

The royal patient was hospitably received into the celebrated surgeon's own home. "At the meeting of the three streets [it was] between the houses of the three chief Professors."† The streets were doubtless students' quarters. In the town there were three schools, a school of Irish law and one of Irish learning, and a school of Latin learning. The first mentioned pair, flourishing in Cenn Faelad's time, appear to have been founded long before it for the propagation of native pre-Patrician erudition. Tuaim Drecon is but a short distance from Magh Sleacht itself,‡ Ireland's great prehistoric centre of pagan worship. Their professors (Dr. MacNeill ingeniously infers) were men of the highest eminence, masters of every branch of Celtic lore. They were, he states, in unbroken succession from the Druids, and carried out in the 7th c. the druidical method of imparting knowledge—no books or MSS. and no writing. The instruction was wholly oral and numberless versified maxims and dicta had to be retained in the memory. All the students, it may be supposed, were acquainted with Ogham; but under this system a man might be very learned and yet quite unable to read or write— so for that matter might a man be to-day. The *filid* or professors, conservatively cherishing their own traditions, ignored such adventitious aids to proficiency. They despised the Latinists with their slates and 'cutters' and copious note-scribbling, and studiously held aloof from them and their new-fangled ways. With them it could not happen that a man could pose as learned merely because he had a good library at his back.

The third Tuaim Drecon faculty, that of classic literature, was still better equipped. As to acquirements, they had the amassed experience of Greece and of both Imperial and Christian Rome, were "heirs to all the ages," and no doubt regarded themselves as "in the foremost files of time." Besides they had their books to draw upon, though in the 7th c. the best stocked library could find ample accommodation in a carpet bag. Essentially their

* So MacNeill. The F.M. record it under 634; but in a note appended O'Donovan quotes other authorities for 636 and 637, and states himself that 637 is the true year.

† Ancient Laws of Ireland, III, 88.

‡ For its exact location, see this Journal, p. 62.

teaching was such as in our modern colleges and needs no describing. They looked down upon the primitive methods in vogue in the twin sister institutions, and made little of their knowledge; in their eyes it was antiquated and useless if not positively tainted and "ungodly"; and their antagonism was countered and liberally repaid by antagonism.

MacNeill conjectures that their school had been superadded as a safeguard. It, too, was most probably a lay school, devoted to lay studies—law, medicine, history, classics; no record of a monastery or monastic teaching has been found. In later times, indeed, Bricin was honoured as a saint—the canonization, as in the case of all our early saints, being by popular acclamation—and this leaves but little doubt that he was an ecclesiastic. Archbishop Healy pronounces "St. Bricin" the founder of Tuaim Drecon.* Dr. MacNeill does not say so, and his careful inductions and more exhaustive researches point rather to his being the founder, or head, of the school of classic learning alone.

On being committed to Bricin's professional care the wounded warrior, Cenn Faelad, was probably a young man. His physical education had, of course, not been neglected, but mental training he had none, unless chess-playing be reckoned as such. However, by law and custom one with his specific injury had to remain three full years under his Doctor's care before it was permissible to dismiss him as cured; and that period he did not spend in idleness. Wandering about from school to school, as might the nephew of the high king of Erin, he swallowed up all the schools had to give. He became very learned, an historian, an authority upon the Brehon Laws, and a great poet. He is Tuaim Drecon's most illustrious pupil, and Tuaim Drecon would be famous if only for educating him, as Oxford would be if only for training Roger Bacon.

His achievements were manifold. He broke down a good deal of the antagonism between school and school. His aim was to join together the native and the foreign culture, or rather, to graft on the native culture whatever was good and useful for it in the other. In poetry, for instance, he took the pioneer's rôle uniting the two strands of (*a*) distinctively Latin and ecclesiastical culture, and (*b*) distinctively Irish and pre-Christian culture;" and this is shown at great length in the article. Up to his time, throughout Western Europe Latin held the monopoly of literature. The Romance dialects, which had grown out of it, "were felt to be vulgar jargons beneath the dignity of literary culture;" and even for the Celtic and Germanic languages the educated had an almost equal lack of respect, and would no more dream of using them in prose or poetry than Macaulay would of employing dockers' slang. First in Western Europe the Irish had a literature in their own vernacular. But if they had, it was

* *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 2nd ed., p. 602.

Cenn Faelad that took a principle part in establishing it. Hence is he rightly called "A Pioneer of Nations." His Irish Grammar, in part yet extant, Dr. MacNeill supposes to be 1,000 years "older than any treatise on the grammar of any other European language, except Greek or Latin." The learned professor concludes by saying that Cenn Faelad's

> distinguishing achievement was the breaking of the barriers of tradition and prejudice that separated the two cultures [native and foreign] and the admission of the *filid* and of all their lore to the franchise of the "Latin Alphabet." Initiated into a world-culture, at a time when Irishmen and Irish schools were at its head, he took his stand with the language, the laws, the poetry, and the history of his native land, and turned to their service the apparatus of their mighty rival [Latin learning].

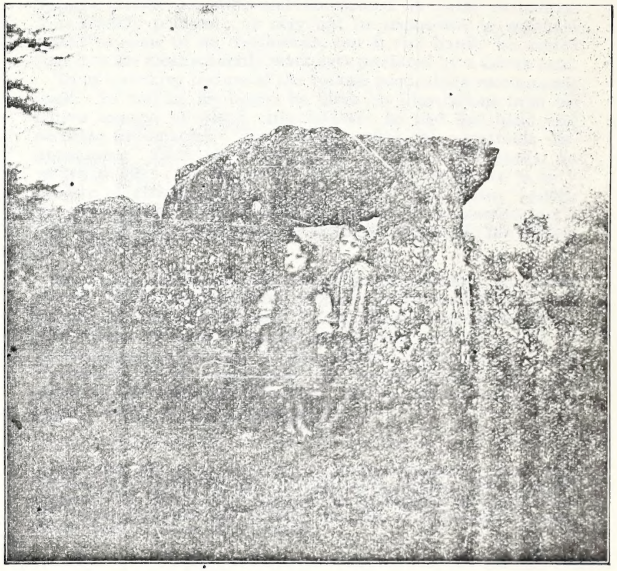
Tuaim Drecon's great distinction is that it afforded him both the opportunity and the means for doing so much for the land of his birth.

As to Bricin, it should have been explicitly stated that he operated on the cloven head and the operation was successful. It was really trepanning, "a frequent practice in pre-historic Western Europe," MacNeill assures us. The story about the "removal of the part of the brain" with which one forgets things.* he explains away in a fashion that is very plausible, we are sorry to have to admit, and from the explanation much in the article is deduced. The great Breifny surgeon is well remembered. Gerald Griffin couples him with Columcille in beautifully worded lines which begin :—

> When the Church of the Isles saw her glory arise
> In Colum the Dovelike and Bricin the Wise,

It may be mentioned, too, that within the last year the chief Military Infirmary in Dublin has been named very appropriately St. Bricin's Hospital.

* See this Journal, p. 62.



The Loughduff Dolmen.

[Block kindly lent by the R.S.A.I.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

At the opening of the year 1922 the Society had to regret the loss of one of its most distinguished members, the Right Hon. Thomas Lough, P.C., H.M.L., Killeshandra.

Mr. Lough was born on 28th March, 1850, at Killynebber House, beside Cavan town. He received his early education at the Royal School, Cavan, whose Headmaster was then Rev. W. Prior Moore, M.A., and from thence he went to the Wesleyan College, Dublin. From 1870 he resided mostly in London. After a time he began to direct much of his attention to politics, and for the last thirty years he was a prominent figure in political circles. He was one of the founders of the Home Rule Union in 1887, and five years later he also helped to found the London Reform Union. He was Member of Parliament for West Islington (London) from 1892 till 1918. On financial questions he specialised, and on the financial relations between this country and England he was a recognised authority. His book, *England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty*, is a standard work on the intricate subject. Largely to his efforts in the House of Commons was due the appointment of the Finanical Relations Commission, and before it he gave valuable evidence.

Mr. Lough was Secretary to the English Board of Education, 1905–8, and H.M.L. for County Cavan since 1907. In 1908 he was appointed a member of the Privy Council. He passed away at his London residence, 97 Ashley Gardens, on the 11th Jan., 1922.

Mr. Lough's book, just mentioned, is of great force and clearness. It is based mainly on Government statistics, with commentaries on and deductions from them; and the masses of facts and figures are marshalled in a series of charts and coloured diagrams in an easily-grasped and most up-to-date fashion. One of its Tables—Table III, p. 203—starts with 1785 and shows (*a*) the population, (*b*) revenue, (*c*) local taxation, (*d*) total taxes, and (*e*) amount paid per head of the population in Ireland in the year mentioned, and in every succeeding fifth year up to and including 1895. This is a fair specimen of the contents, and makes it

apparent that the work appeals to the historian as well as to the student of the more abstruse science of Polititial Economy. But as a guide to the particular field of Economics dealt with—Ireland in the hundred years ending with 1895, as far as statistics are available—it is invaluable. Since its publication in 1896 several writers have taken up the theme* and extended the survey back to previous centuries. But, in modern times, *England's Wealth* has the signal merit of being the pioneer work of research. Though strictly scientific and uncoloured by party prejudices, it is frankly political; it may not be impossible to withhold assent to some of its conclusions, but it can hardly be denied that it is the most scholarly work ever produced by a Cavan man.

To us a striking feature of the volume particularly recommends itself. In making his points he takes his illustrations from his native county, of whose circumstances he had first-hand and accurate information. Thus, in discussing the regrettable disappearance from the countrysides of home-made goods, he writes (p. 30): "In the small town which is best known to me" a score of articles (which he enumerated) were made "within my own memory. Now there is not a vestige of any manufacture"; and from his own observation he traces the causes of their decline and extinction.

Mr. Lough's interest in the county was always keen and never abated. His knowledge of its past and present was full and could be gathered only in a life-time. To the efforts of our Society since its inception he gave warm encouragement, and he was one of its staunchest supporters. It goes without saying that in losing the honour of his membership the Breifny Society also loses about its best informed individual. To his wife and relatives it begs to proffer its sincere sympathy

---

* Dr. Alice Murray, for instance, in *Commercial Relations*, 1903; Mrs. Stopford Green in *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*, 1908; and Mr. George O'Brien, Litt.D., in *Economic History of Ireland* in the 18th c., 1918. The last-named author also published last year (1921) Ireland's *Economic History* from the Union to the Famine.

ERRATA IN JOURNALS Nos. I. and II.

(Pages 1-230.)

Page 9, l. 1—For "14th century" read 1536. The date is given on the Shrine itself.
Page 49, l. 15—For "1280" read 1250.
Page 49, 1st line of 2nd paragraph—For "1306" read 1356. "Conchobhag Mac Consnamhy, Bp. of the Breifne, died in 1355"—*An. of Lough Cé*, Vol. III, p. 11. He was succeeded by Richard O'Reilly. *Cf.* this Journal p. 114.
Page 59, towards foot—The short chapter on snakes is not in *Cambrensis*, nor does it refer to Ireland, but to Iceland. It occurs in a book by Niel Horrebow published in Copenhagen in 1750, and is its 72nd chapter. Dr. Johnson once declared he could give word for word a whole chapter of a book. And he did. He repeated "There are no snakes to be met with throughout the whole island." It forms the whole chapter. (Mistake kindly pointed out by a member, Mr. Kimmet, Glasgow, who says it is a common one.)
Page 65—Instead of "Cloughoughter Castle, Dec., 1904," read Dec., 1890.
Page 69—In the epitaph the first blank can now be read as Ballinrink, and the second as ob' (=obit—died); the third is 1775 (the horizontal portions of the two middle digits alone remain, but no digit except 7 has a horizontal line at top).

Although the epitaph states, distinctly, that the bodies of three are lying underneath, still it is locally said there is but one, and it is conjectured that it is that of Col. Jn. O'R. The other tomb is the main O'R. one. A special avenue shaded by palms and copper beeches, leading from the right of the graveyard gate to the opening of the vault beneath it, is still traceable despite the neglect of a century. The opening is at the head and four yew trees face it. It is shut by a stone slab, and behind the slab is an iron gate. Stone steps lead downward and on either side are iron trestles on which the coffins rest. Exteriorly the vault is about 8 yards by 4, built of cement, but now so overgrown with nettles and weeds that its outlines can with difficulty be made out.

Tradition has it that the remains of a Lady O'R., whose connections were thought beneath the family, were removed from this vault, but so far respected that a special vault was built for them. It is pointed out beside the old church ruins.

Full particulars of the careers of all the O'R's mentioned in the epitaph, except Nathaniel, are given by O'D. in the articles already referred to (v. this Journal, p. 202, No. 4). Of Myles

BREIFNY ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Account for Year ending 31st December, 1922.

RECEIPTS.

22.	£	s.	d.
nuary 1st. To balance in Ulster Bank, Cavan, as per last Account	15	6	5
Received balance in hands of former Secretary ...	1	2	6
Received amount overpaid by Mr. J. A. Cole ...	0	10	0
Received for Sale of Journals	4	5	9
Received Life Subscriptions, entrance fees and Annual Subscriptions and Sales of Journal ...	74	9	0
Received Interest on Current Account, in Bank ...	0	19	2
	£97	2	10

EXPENDITURE.

1922.	£	s.	d.
December 12th. Paid *Anglo Celt* Account for Printing Journal for Year 1921	67	1	3
Paid Postages on Circulars and copy Journals sent to Members	2	3	4
Paid Charges on Bank Account	1	1	0
Balance to Credit in Bank	25	17	3
Balance in hands of Hon. Secretary	1	0	0
	£97	2	10

E. & O. E.

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

1922.	£	s.	d.
December 31st. By Amount on Deposit Receipt in Ulster Bank as per last Account	140	0	0
	£140	0	0

1922.	£	s.	d.
December 31st. By Balance	140	0	0
	£140	0	0

E. & O. E.

William Reid,
For Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

J. P. Gannon,
5th July, 1923.

he writes (p. 74) that "he died in Dublin on 4th Feb., 1775, aged 67 years, and was buried in the family vault at Kill, in the County of Cavan." This removes the last vestige of doubt about the correctness of our reading of the date in the inscription. It is a consolation, too, to see that in the articles O'D. himself makes many slips. For instance—assuming, as we may, that the epitaph is correct—Brian of Balliurink was not the third son of Col. John, as he states (p. 74), but the eldest.

The Myles of the epitaph is fairly certainly the Myles Reilly mentioned in the Will of Dr. Hugh MacMahon, Abp. of Armagh and Primate (d. 1737), under circumstances which show that he was the Primate's trusted friend. Myles's uncle and namesake (d. 1731, in Dublin, but apparently not buried in Kill) was equally the friend of the Primate's father, Colla Dubh MacMahon of Bellatrain, Carrickmacross (d. 1723 or 4). The prelate was probably nearly related to the O'R's. His mother is said to have been Eileen O'R., a niece of Owen Roe. Philip McHugh O'R. (v. p. 43) md. Rose, Owen's s.; and Eileen, we take it, was their d. Another d., Mary, married Col. Lewis Moore of Balyna, Co. Kildare. Their g-grandson, Js. Moore of Balyna, had an only d. and heir, Letitia, who md. Richard O'Ferrall, and is the ancestress of the More O'Ferrall family.

(*Arch. Hib.*, Vol. I, pp. 151 and 154, n.)

Page 92, 3rd par.—Cnaṫán—is found in Dr. Dineen's and other Irish Dictionaries as Cnaṫán. It means the prickly heads of the burdock and also the plant itself. In E. Cavan the burs are known only as marra roorals. Throughout Breifny and also in Inishowen cn—(the easier sound) is often used for cn—. Cnock (cnoc=a hill), *v.g.*, becomes Crock or Krok.

Page 100, No. (3)—Brockhill Newburgh, M.P. for Cavan 1715—1727, did not marry Frances, d. of John French. His wife was Mary, sister of Oliver Moore of Salestown, and d. of Col. Wm. Moore. But his grandson, another Brockhill Newburgh, did marry a Frances French, the d. not of John but of the Rev. Wm. French, Dean of Ardagh. (For the correction we are indebted to the Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.R.I.A., one of our members.)

Page 112—For "scholarships" read scholarship.

Page 119, l. 13 from foot, "punished." The Gaélic of the *O'Reilly Pedigree* is early 17th c., and it has many Keatingisms. The verb used here is ṫá ṫíoṫuġaṫ—to expel— to confiscate, to destroy. It is now almost obsolete. "Expelled" or "dispossessed" might be clearer than "punished". In a 'free' translation it could be rendered "he was sent away to be got rid of."

Pag 127—For 3rd l. substitute, This is succeeded by the following notice of surrender in 1584.

Page 127, lines 10 & 11. Delete "toune" and insert towghe (—Tuath).

Page 146—The heading "Native Owners, etc.," which is the 9th line should be the 12th.

Page 155, 2nd footnote, —For "Tour" read Jour. (—Journal.)

Page 157, 3rd footnote—Read Jour. R.S.A.I. &c.

Page 160, l. 3—The incised crosses are placed as shown in the illustration.

Page 162, l. 7—For "triangle" read angle.

Page 192, l. 13 from foot—For "1700" read 700.

Page 217, l. 8 of Latin document—For "due" read dne.

Page 217, l. 15 of Latin document—For "bonum" read proborum.

Page 218, l. 6 of Latin document—For "cadtr" read cartr'.

Page 218, last line Latin document—Read apposuimus.

Page 223—For last word of 3rd par. read Brandubh.

A few other mistakes on this and on next page are obvious.

Page 224, l. 8 from foot—For "first" read just.

Page 225—Only "No. of voter . . . . Dublin" should be indented.

Page 226, l. 2—For "Brose" read Brosc.

Page 227, l. 2 from foot—Between "been" and "identified" insert long.

As the last No. of the Journal (p. 230 to end) has not yet had the benefit of the members' scrutiny it would be impossible at this juncture to supply a list of the faults it may contain. For pointing out any such flaws, either in it or which have escaped detection in the two previous Nos., the Hon. Sec. will be extremely grateful. It will be borne in mind that mis-statements alone are regarded as of moment. Errors in spelling (except in proper names), or in punctuation (unless the meaning is affected), or in the case of capital letters (about which there are almost always two tenable opinions) are looked upon as pure trifles and may be left to the reader's indulgence.

In many instances articles were condensed and matters not of fairly general interest were either wholly excluded or reduced to a mere reference. Should a member desire fuller information on any such point the Hon. Sec. will be glad to communicate it if available, or else will do his best to procure it.

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I. INDEX.

(To Articles pp. 91 and 174).

PECULIAR WORDS AND PHRASES USED IN BREIFNY.

Aeread 181
After seeing ... 93
All as one ... 186
Alt 186
A mac 188
Amadan ... 183
Arcan 182
Arcan's Leap ... 182
Arrow 190
Arts 188
At me 188
A vic 188

Bac 185
Bad thing ... 185
Ballyrag ... 183
Banniv 182
Bannock... ... 189
Bardogs 180
Barge 183
Barr 92
Barramhail ... 94
Basket 190
Basog 188
Berl 188
Be to be ... 186
Bird cradle ... 187
Blustry 189
Bohalawn bwee... 186
Bodach 188
Bone 178
Boortree 179, 187
Boreen 188
Bowlteen ... 178
Boxty 176
Brackid, ... 188
Brae 186
Brash 181
Brawhan ... 176
Brawhilleach ... 182
Brock 176
Brogues 185
Brosna 180
Bunran 183
Bunty 188
Byre 190

Caday 184
Cadaying ... 184
Call 188
Cappeen ... 178
Carant 189
Carvagh ... 187
Caubeen ... 185
Causey 189
Caution 185
Caveat 187
Cearc, Hi ... 177
Ceilidhe 175
Clane (clean) ... 190
Clash 183
Claven 187
Clawber 188
Clib 188
Clowneys ... 178
Cludogs 187
Coateen 185
Coer 178
Colcannon ... 176
Coman 187
Cor 183
Corp 188
Crack, cries ... 186
Craw cree ... 181
Creels ... 180, 189
Crib 187
Crisheen ... 178
Crook 190
Crow dearg ... 186
Cub 184
Cusog 188
Cute as, etc. ... 182
Cutty ... 178, 189

Daol 184
Davy, I'll take my 188
Deoch 177
Deoch an doruis, 177
Ditch 190
Donny 181
Doubt, I... ... 93
Drioman... ... 178
Droughy... ... 189
Dul 179
Dunaun, ... 182
Durneens ... 178

Een 185
Eirish 180
Eye, the evil ... 181

Fairy finger ... 185
Falling sickness 181
Farawan, ... 188
Fargortha ... 186
Fog, ... 188
Foin (fine) ... 190
Forrah 177
Fosey 180
Fuster, ... 183

Gabby 183
Gad ... 183, 178
Gallogly ... 182
Gant 188
Gearcaile ... 187
Geiss, a 178
Gentle folk ... 179
Girsha 187
Gisthra 188
Glug 188
Gohaw 185
Good people, the 179
Gore, hi 177
Gossoon 184
Gostog 188
Got his death ... 188
Gowloge ... 180
Graip 188
Great with them 188
Greesha 177
Gripper 187
Griskin 176
Grisset 177
Guff 188
Guggering ... 178
Gustog 188
Guttagh ... 183

Haggard 177
Hard, think it ... 186
Hasky 189
Hate 189
Hateen 185
Herself 189
Himself 189
Hintin 178
Hoil 175
Hot 188

I'd disly 186

Join the world ... 189

Kale 188
Kesh 180
Kiln 190
Kink 189
Kinkesha ... 184
Kiotau 185
Kippeens ... 179
Kitoge 185
Kusog 188

Langal 179
Langled, well ... 179
Lawchey ... 185
Leisgale 181
Lone 178
Losset 177
Loy 178

Mahaler 185
Make rathers ... 184
Maftock ... 190
Meelen 179
Mehil 185
Mescaun ... 176
Middhilin ... 178
Mill 188
Moguing ... 184
Montach ... 183
More 189
Moss 188
Muck, hi... ... 177
Myaw 186

Noggin 176
Noneen 186

Odious 189
On me 188
Ones, Lipton's 188
Overlooked ... 181

Paudeen ... 185
Pike 180
Pillin 180
Pistroges ... 186
Place 185
Plaikeen ... 185
Plamas ... 188
Poo-paw... ... 184
Poreens 186
Posey 186
Poteens 186
Potheen 188
Potkeen 188
Power of ... 189
Praughas ... 177
Pressaugh ... 186
Prog 187
Prough 176
Puck 188
Pucog 179
Puss ... 188

Qua 176

Rameis 183
Rasp 176
Rathers 184
Rate 178
Reehan 179
Reeraw ... 185
Reneging ... 185
Renager ... 186
Rowting ... 189
Right, it isn't 178, 179, 184

Sally 175
Sasana Nuadh ... 93
Say (sea) ... 190
Scollops 175
Score 178
Scraw 175
Screbban ... 185
Screeb 178
Seanachas ... 183
Sevendible ... 189
Sgone 188
Sgrios 185
Shanty ... 175, 176
Sharekeen ... 186
Sheaf, bury the 181
Sheal 181
Sheugh 190
Shill 179
Shillin 179
Shoneen ... 185
Shuler 183
Skin 178
Skoobeen ... 184
Slane 180
Slanlus 185
Slawn 180
Sleep, in my ... 188
Slipe 180
Sluce 179
Sned 178
Snig 188
Sonsy 178
Soople 178
Spideog 184
Spreece 183
Spunk 186
Sril 183
Stag 186
Standing, fall out of 181
Steveen 178
Sharmogues ... 188
Strikes out ... 186
Sugan 185
Sum of three cows 185
Sweepath ... 189
Sweetin up ... 189
Swithers, in ... 189

Tackle 179
Tackle to ... 180
Tawlach ... 181
Teem 176, 177, 181
Thrape 183
Through other ... 183
Togal 198
Traneen 189
Triheens ... 185
Treik 181
Triosgan ... 177
Tug; 178

Wee 189
Wee folk, the ... 179
Whangs 185
Whins 189
Wait 177

Ye, as pl. ... 187

II: INDEX.

PLACE-NAMES EXPLAINED.

Achadh Ladhair 27
Aghaler 27

Bailieborough ... 44
Ballaghanea ...19, 20
Ballyconnell ... 34
Bellamont Forest 103
Billywood ... 113, n
Blackwater R., 17
Brackley Island 204
Bruise (Lurgan) 317
Burnew ... ... 123, n

Cairbegabra ... 167
Camalier, tld. ... 313, n
Carrow- } ... 334
Cartron- }
Carvagh }
Clankee ... 117, n
Clanmore ... 317
Clogh Oughter ... 245
Croc Fola ... 20
Culnagralchy ... 317

Dear Island ... 321

Emyvale 222

Farnham Castle ... 256
Fearan na g-Cloch 213

Glengevlin (old name) ...253, n.
Glenmade, P. ... 346
Gortinanoul ... 242

Inch Island ... 204

Kelly's Church ... 142
Kildallan ... 345
Killeshandra ... 73
Killykeen ... 240
Kinlough ... 346
Knockninny ... 331

Leer, tld. ... 27
Lismore Castle ... 106
Lough Oughter 240
Lune Barony ... 17
Lurgan ... 298

Monuarogata ... 318
Muff 60
Muinreamhair L. 19
Mullagh 126
Mullach-Aiti 310, n.
Mullagh land? ... 126
Munterconnacht 20
Murchaun Parish 265, n

Nobber ... 117, n

Oughteragh P. ... 225
Partann ... } 206, 317
Port ... }

Ramor Lake ... 16

Seoran ... ... 18, n.
Slanore 167
Slievebricken ... 63

Teampull Ceallaigh 142
Templeport P. ... 206
Tomregin 63, 350
Tonyfoyle ... 18, n
Tuaim Drecon 62

Virginia ... 301

Woodward's Island 28

III: GENERAL INDEX.

(ARTICLES ARE IN HEAVY TYPE).

A Lost Leitrim MS. 346
Achadh Ladhair falls into disuse 315
Addison, his connection with Cavan 98 105
Aghakilmore (Ballymachugh P.), find at 31, No. 6
Aidan, St., see Mogue... ...
Anglo-Celt founded in 1846, 279, 283, etc.

Annagelliffe Alt, origin of ... **274**
—— Church, why abandoned ..., 277
Annalists on the O'Reillys, 115, 121-5, etc.
Annus Mirabilis, 1487, ... 253

Antiquities of Leighlin, reviewed ... **70**
Ardagh Diocese, an 18th c. seal of 33
Arrow-heads, flint 269
Ashe individuals, 39, 47, 98, 127, 306
Authoritative Documents, as cited *passim*.
—— ——, Lists of, 4-6, 53, 201-3, 342 all mentioned.
—— ——, Local, 25, n 2; 31 No. 7; 42 n., 116 (B. of Fenagh), 118 n., 201-3, 223, 266 n., 270, No. 4, 272 No. 6, 288, 308 n., 325, 349, n. 1, 2 & 3
Authorship of "I'm Sitting on the Stile, Mary" 110

Bailieborough Castle ... 44
Bailey, Robert ... 44
Balfour, B. T., M. P. Belturbet 1800 ... ... 96, 99
Ballaghanea Castle, where? 24, 301
—— history of, 24, 296, 301, 314, 316
Ballinamore, printing in 263-4
Ballybet, extent of 206
Ballyconnell Charter of 1767 270
—— Conall Cernach's death at 35
Ballyjamesduff, gold objects found near ... 195
Battle of Ballaghanea A.D. 572, 19; of Moira, A.D. 638, 350; of Billywood, 710, 113; on Meath border, 1233, 115; of Blenacup, 1369, 249; the O'Rourkes defeat the O'Reillys and O'Connors 1380, 252; the O'Rourkes rout the O'Connors and the rebellious MacTernans, 1390, 253; of **Cavan Town,** 1690, 56.

Bawne, what? ... 24
Bedell, Dr. William, imprisoned 42, 252
—— interred in Kilmore 42, 257
—— his Schoolhouse 348
—— his Chancellor 45
Belturbet; Corporation Seal, 33; **Visited by the Lord Lieutenant, 54; M.P.s,** 39, 99, 111; Tokens, 327
Benbo Mt., richer than all Ireland 195
Beresford, Sir Tristram, Grants to, 1666 307
Birch, Robert, M.P., Belturbet 177— till 1783 99
Blundell, Sir A., M.P., Belturbet 1634-39 ...39, 46
Boar's Head found at Swellan ... 294
Bog-butter, found at Keilderry 1920 48
Boor-tree-bush uncanny ... 179
Borlase, Sir J., M.P.
Belturbet 1639—, 39, 46
Bradys mentioned 39, 45, 101, 130 219, 297, 319, n.
Brady, Canon, Rector of Louvain... 336
Breifny E., boundaries of ... 114
—— erected into counties ... 20
—— in 1599, why not garrisoned by Essex ... 310
Bricin, the great Breifny Surgeon of the 7th c. 62, 350, 352
Bronze: Age for Ireland, 107; cauldrons, 30, Nos. 2 & 5; Celts, 30, 31; 194 No. 4 b; spears and swords 30, No. 1
Brooke, Henry, Life of 24, 148

Butlers, 39, 43, 47, 95, 108, 109, 272

Caillin, St., incidental references to, 9, 110, 145, 205, n

Caulce, St., in Breifny ... 299

Canning, George, connection with Cavan ... 100

Carrick-on-Shannon, printing in 264-5

Carrigallen P. founded by St. Patrick ? ... 226

Carvagh, extent of 187, 325, 334

Casey, Jn., K., Life of **215**

Castlecar, fire-arms first used at 253

Castledine, Rd., a worthy character 256

Castlerahan B., patrimony of F. O'Reilly, 21, 296

—— Owners in 1641 ... 120, 139

—— grantees 21, 127

Castles, List of O'Reillys' ... 114

Cavan County: anciently very rich, 195; the Crannoge County, 241; its Lake District, 240; erected and joined to Ulster, 20, 37; its Borough Endowments, 23, 318; **Knights of the Shire,** 39, 97, 111; Election of 1761, 225, 272; School endowment, 22; conditions in 18th c., 222; population in 1732 ... ... 311, n

Cavan, Earl of, descent of ... 41

Cavan Herald, first Cavan newspaper, 1818 ... 279, 281

Cavan Town: legend about, 277; old Map of, 48; Charters of 1613 and 1688, 31, 37, 272; violence at first election 1612, 319, n.; first sovereign of, 45; old Law Courts, 272; Market Cross, 64; battle of 1690, 56; **Members** or Burgesses **in Irish Parliament,** 39, 98, 111; Early Printing in, 279; printing as early as 1709 ?, 285, 324; **Token,** 327; coins found 194

Cavan Observer founded 1857... 284

Cavan Weekly News, founded 1864 285

Cavendish, Hon. G., last M.P. Cavan Borough 96, 98

Ceallach, Saint 142, 145

Celtic language in England ... 190

Celts, Stone, exhibited, 30, 31, 164, 192

— Bronze, exhibited, 31, 194

Cenn Faelad, an illustrious pupil of Tuaim Drecon ... 62, 349

Christian names, Irish, modernised ... 114 n., 314

Classic learning in the Middle Ages in Ireland ... 347

Clements mentioned, 95, 96, 105, 106, 107, 132, 198, 313

Cloonclare, some P. P.'s of 210, 211

Clough Oughter: a crannoge ... **244**

—— its present extent ... 244

Clough Oughter Castle: its dimensions, 244; erected before 1327, 247; perhaps in 9th c., 247; the key of East Breifny, 120, 248; captured by stratagem, 120, 249; also a prison in 14th c., 250, 252, 331; in 1487, 253; in 1607 owned by the Baron of Delvin, 254; in 1641 by Culme, 255; then badly dilapidated, 256; Bishop Bedell imprisoned in, 42, 256; Monsignor Massari lodges in (1646), 257, n.; Owen Roe dies in (1649), 258; its last prisoners, 258; the last post given up (1653) 259; how destroyed... 245, 261

Coke first used for smelting by O'Reillys ... 207

Columbanus founder of Slanore, 167-9

Columbkille, his penance and visit to Slanore 168

Connell Cernach, last days of ... **34**

Cooke, Dr. Alan, Chancellor of Kilmore ... 45

Cootehill, printing in ... 279, 287

Cootes, 45, 101, 103, 136-8

Coppinger, M., M.P. Belturbet 1790-97 ... 99

Corrys of Rockcorry 104

Creevelea Abbey, Dromahair 8, 203

Creighton, Rev. G. of Lurgan, his Depositions 25, 308

Cromwell never in Cavan ... **58**

Cromwell's Parliaments, local representatives 38

Crosses, Ancient, but one in Breifny ... **64**

Crosskeys bronze cauldrons ... 30

Cruelty condoned by a rhyme ... 184

Culme, Capt., a native of Devonshire 300

—— first M.P. for Cavan Borough, 39; but unseated 319 n.

—— lands obtained by 23, 255, 271

—— Rev. Arthur, of Cavan town 301

—— Benjamin, a good preacher 255, 300

Cosby, Wm., Grants to in 1666 138

Courts of Pye Powder ... 271

Cramer, John, M.P. Belturbet 1754-60, etc. ... 99

Crannoges: how constructed, how fortified, when erected, those in Lough Oughter and in Drumlane and Tully lakes ... 241-4

Crannoge causeways ingeniously constructed 243

Dallan, St., cousin of St. Mogue ... 345

Davenport Ch., four Grants to to in 1666 131-2

Decay of Home Industries in Cavan 61, 355

Delvin, Baron, a fugitive ... 254

Devor Churchyard, epitaphs in ... **328**

Dillons, 39, 42, 106, 255

Delafay Ch., M. P. Belturbet 1715-27 99

Discs. Gold, found at Lattoon ... 199

Dolmens in Cavan, 20, 163n, 164, 353

Donahoe, Patrick, of Munnery ... **338**

Doughty: motto, 146; John of Virginia ... 313

Dresden defended by a Maguire... 202

Druidical Rites, traces of, 113n, 179, 181, 214

—— teaching at Tuaim Drecon 350

Drumlane, St. Mogue returns to it 345

—— Tower compared with Clogh Oughter 244

—— Lake crannoges 243

Elf-shooting ... 269

Elliot, Sir John, Grants to in 1610 128

Elk's antlers discovered near Green Lake ... 276

Enerys, an old Cavan family, 271, 349

England's Wealth etc., by Thomas Lough ... 354

Epitaphs: **in Dervor, 328**; at Kelly's Church, 145; in Kill, 66, 357; in Clonabreany, 314 n

Eric of 700 cows... 333

Erne Lakes, theories on formation 240

Errata in this Vol., pp. 1-230 ... **357**

Escape in 1390 from Lough Oughter Castle 252

Essex in 1599 declines garrisoning Breifny ... 310

—— executed by Elizabeth ... 311

Expulsions from I. Parliament, 39, 47

Farnhams, descent of, 102, 284, 285

Fechin, St., of Fore, miracle of 169

Fettiplace, Sir Edm., grants to in 1610 ... 302

Fergusons, Erenachs of Rosinver ... 344

Fiants, explanation of 26, 298

Fingall, Earl of., his descent ... 314,n

—— his children captured 25, 301

—— his estates not forfeited 135, 305-6

Fire-arms first used in Breifny 253

Fishe, John, Cavan Knight of the shire 1613-34 39

Fitzgerald, Lord Charles 98, 107

Fitzpatrick, Dr. Th. of Virginia 321

Fleming, G., Grants to in 1586 21

Gallon, extent of 207, 326, 335

Garadice Lake fortified island 243

Garth, Lt., Grant to in 1610 ... 302

Glangevlin, not long inhabited 253

Glebes, what they were 308

Glencar crannoge 254,n

Glenfarne Tower of 1236 ... **208**

Glover, G., M.P. Belturbet 1769-76 99

Godwin, T., Bishop of Kilmore 348

Gold finds, numerous in Cavan ... 195
Grattan, Sir H., and Cavan 225, 227
Green Lake of modern formation 274
Grimesditch, G., and Wirrall, 1st M.P.'s Belturbet 39
Gulliver's Travels, written in Quilca ... 29

Hamilton, a Sir F., Bt., C. Knight of Shire 1661-1714, ... 39, 45, 97
—— Sir F., and Craig, in 1641, defend Tecrohen and Keilagh, 255, 309
Hearth Money Rolls, what they were 146
—— 1664, for Lurgan Parish 311
—— Killenkere Parish ... 147
Henry Ireland Pamphlet, date ? 285, **324**
Highlands of Cavan, notice of ... 223
History of Monaghan, reviewed **221**
Home Industries, vanished, 61, 355
Hospital Churches, what they were 140
—— List of Cavan 220
—— ruins of 139, 141, 295

Iron works, O'Reilly Brothers', at Arigna 207
Jocks, what they were 270
Justin, the late Rev. Brother 226

Kelly's Church 118, 139-142
Kennedy, the late Henry, B.L. ... 227
Keshcarrigan crannoge ... 241,n
Kilasnet, old church in Glencar 212
—— castle, 253 ; crannoge 254 n.
Kildrumfertin, O'Reilly tombs in ... **66**, 357
Killargue Cross ... 104
Kilgolagh and its horse fairs ... **61**
Kilian, St., biography of ... 142-5
Killeshandra Token ... 327
Killinkere, and owners and grantees 1641 130-8
—— householders in 1664 ... 147
—— ancient crosses ... 64
Kilmore, original See of ? ... 170
—— a 14th century seal of ... 31
—— **Bishops, 1356**-1560 ... 49
Killykeen, scenery of ... **240**, 261
King, Ch., M.P., Belturbet 1798-, 96, 99
Knocknin ny, Maguire's regal residence ... 331

La Touche, D., M.P. Belturbet 1783-90 ... 110
Lake, a, steals away in the night ... 18 n, 276
Lakes that burst forth 16
Lake, Dr. Ed., M.P. C. Borough 1639-40 and expelled ... 39
Lambert, Sir Oliver, 39, 41, 130, 319 n
—— Charles, M.P. Cavan Borough, 98, 105
Land Measures, **206**, 219, 325-6 **334**
Lanesborough, Earls of, see Butlers.
Leitrim Advertiser Mohill, 1850 ... 267
—— *Journal*, first newspaper in the County, 1850, 264-5
Leitrim, Lord, descent of 105, 106
—— Roll of County Officers 266
Lismore Castle, Crossdoney ... 106
Lough, the late Miss Martha ... 227
—— the late Rt. Hon. Thomas ... 354
Lough Oughter : in 954, in 1220, and in 1231, 246 ; in 1241 and 1272 ... 247
Luigne, boundaries of 17
Lurgan Parish : grouped with others ... **295**
—— families in 16th c. ... 296
—— the Jacobean assignments, 1610, 299-302
—— the lands assigned natives 302
—— Church lands 303, 307, 308
—— owners in 1641 ... 303-7
—— householders in 1664 311-14
—— Glebe in 1831 320
—— Rectors, 25, 295, 308, 315, 320, 322
—— vanished townland names 303, 308, 313-8

MacCabe, Charles, a Mullagh poet 149
MacCabes, of Danish origin... 117 n
MacGaurans, the Book of ... **288**
MacGaurans of Tullyhaw, Books and Articles on 338
MacTernans of Tullyhunco ... 252
MacRanall's Castle, Lough Scur 252

Magh Sleacht, where ? 225
Maguires of Fermanagh, 202, 250, 259
Malachy slays "the sons of death" ... 18
Malcolmson, Dr., investigates Tonymore ... 241
Margaret of New Orleans 234, **339**
Masserene, Lord, Grants to in 1666-8, 130-7, 304, 306
Maxwells, 96, 102, 104, 272, 282, 283
McClintock, John, M.P. Belturbet 1790-97 ... 99
McGovern, the late J. H. of Liverpool ... **338**
McLoughlin, the late Rev. Michael ... 74
Members, Original, of the Society... **75**
Members elected in 1921, pp. 89, 90 ; in 1922, 238, 239
Miltown, cross-mould found 268
Mogue, St., Birthplace of ... **204**
—— buried at Rossinver ... 345
—— Patron of Ferns ... 223
—— Irish and Latin Lives of, 344, 346
Mohill Earthworks, 8 ; Printing in, 264, 266
—— *Literary Magazine* of 1853 266
Molaise, St., connected with N. Leitrim 168, 340
Monasteries' inactivity in 14th and 15th c.'s.... 347
Montgomery, G., 97, 104, 270, 272
Moore, Rev. Wm. Prior, letter of 276
Moore, Wm. of Tullyvin, M.P. Cavan Borough 39
Mortimer, J., Act of Settlement Grants to ...132-3
Mounting Stones 270
Muff and its Fair, **59**, 124 n.
Mullagh : earliest notice of, 114 ; Castle, 117,127 ; Castle when built, 118, 120 ; part of Clan Maelmordha territory, 125 ; Jacobean assignments of, 1610, 125, 127-9 ; Owners and Grantees, 1641, 129-139 ; some 16th c. inhabitants, 105 ; families in 1664, 146-8
Mullagh Parish : united with Killinkere, 113 ; Patron Saint, 142 ; Eccl. History, 150 ; Parish Priests, 151 ; Rectors, 130 (?), 140 ; Termon lands, 139, 140 ; Church of 1819, cost of, 141 ; Authors, 148
Mummers ... 58

Natives' status under Jacobean Plantation, 303, 314
Nesbitts, 95, 98, 105, 349
Nesbitt, Alex., a distinguished archaeologist ... **337**
Newburgh, Brockhill, of Ballyhaise ... 100, 358

O'Cianan, Scribe and Historian of the 14th c.... 291
O'Connors and O'Rourkes, antipathy between 14th c. ... 251
O'Corcrain, an eminent 15th c. harper... ... 254
O'Cuirnins, hered. historians of O'Rourkes **287, 344**
—— MS. Life of St. Mogue ... 344
O'Duigenan, Jerome ... 9
O'Farrelly, a Mullagh poet ... 149
—— Coarb of Drumlane ... 345
Ogham Stones in Cavan 154, 158
—— Stone in Leitrim ... 163
—— the Kieran 17
—— Inscriptions, why interesting 160-3
O'Longan, 19th c. Scribe ... 292
O'Neill's parley with Essex, 1599 311
O'Reilly, origin of 114 n
—— Money banned ... 115
—— famous for cavalry 61, 115
—— raids by and against, 115-7, 120-5
—— Castles, 114, 118, 121, 244
—— John, put to death 1565, ... 125
—— Philip, 1st M.P. 40, 47
—— ——McHugh, in 1641 ; 43, 310, 358
—— Edmund ... 40
—— Sir John, Seal of... ... 32
O'Reillys, lands assigned to, 1610, 146, 302
—— *Pedigree* MS. ... 118 n
—— present day descendants ... 40
O'Reilly Tombs, 66, 145, 357
O'Rourkes, 119, 201, 202, 240, 249, 251, ...
O'Rourke, Brian of the Ramparts executed ... 8
—— Tiernan repels the O'Connors and O'Reillys, 1380 252

—— —— routs the O'Connors and MacTernens, 1390 253
—— ——, his personal bravery 253
"Overlooking," and its remedies 181, 213
Owen Roe arrives 257
—— his nieces 358

Parishes, Kilmore, founded by St. Patrick ? ... 213
Peace of Clogh Oughter, 1653, Articles ... 259
Phettilace, see Fettiplace.
Piggott, Alex., Grants to in 1668 136-7, 304
Pillions, and when disused 180, 270
Ploughing by the tail ... 193, 255
Plunketts, see Fingall.
Poll Book of the 1761 Cavan Election, 225, 272
Poll, extent of ... 206, 219, 326, 335
Port Island, St.... Mogue's Birthplace 204
Pratt, Mervyn, of Kingscourt, 97, 101

Presentation of an Irish Library, etc., to the Society 239, **342**
Primate MacMahon related to the O'Reilly's ... 358

Printing in Leitrim, 263 ; in Cavan ... **279**
Prophecy : St. Caillin's, 116 ; the deaf man's, ... 119
Pye Powder Courts 271

Quakers' Burying Place at Cavan Town ... 349
Quilca, Swift's visits to ... 29

Ramor, Lough, ancient names of **16**
—— or the Manor of Chichester ... 23
—— Islands ...18, 28
—— "Danish" vessels dragged up 315
—— Boat Races 321
Rantavan, Brooke's home 29, 148

Rent Strike, a, in 14th c. ... **331**
Ridgeway, Capt., from Devonshire 300
—— grants to in 1610, 23, 24, 299
Robin redbreast, a favoured bird. Why ? ... 184
Rossinver, St. Mogue's burying place ... 345
Rossinver Deanery and Parish 345
Rowan tree, a terror to Fairies... 179

Rules of the Society 75
Rush-light holders exhibited ... 30
Ryves, William, M.P. Belturbet 39

Saint Patrick curses the Blackwater ... 17
Saunders, R., M.P. C. Borough, 1692-17—, ...39, 98
Saundersons, 39, 45, 96, 97, 100, 133-5
Schoolhouse, oldest in Ulster ... 348
Seal, 14th c., Kilmore 31
Seal, Kilmore, made 1628 or -9 by Abp. H. O'Reilly, for his successor ... 33
Seals, Local, illustrated ... 32
Servitors, who they were ... 21
Sexton, G., 1st M. P. C. Borough, 39 ; but unseated ... 319 n.
Shantamon Bronze Brooch 31
Sheridans, a Cavan family, 29, 100, 109, 219
Surnames, Irish forms of modern, 148, 298, 314

Slanore, the Monastery of ... **166**
Slanore, St. Ruadhan's miracle at 169
Sliabh Guaire, where located 18 n.
Smyth, Sir S., M.P. Belturbet 1783-90 ... 99
Snakes in Ireland 357
Society's Accounts : 1920, 83 ; 1921, 229 ; 1922, ... 356
Sources of Breifny History, 3-6, 53, 65, 201
Speaking Stones at Oldcastle ... **213**
Steuart, Ch., M.P., of Bailieboro', 97, 104
Stuart, Wm. C. Knight of the Shire 1766-8, 97, 103
Stone Cross from Trinity Island 192
Stone Head from Trinity Island 294

Suggestions to Members, **3-6, 10-15,** 224, 359
Sun-dial, a pocket 194, No. 4, 273
Superstitions, Ireland does not monopolize ... 215

Swellan, L. ; age of, 276 ; a find at 294
Sword, Iron, the first fashioned in Ireland ... 254, n.
Swords, Palstaves, etc., Bronze, found ... 30

Taafe, Sir W., Jacobean Grants to, 1610 24, 127
—— of Irish birth, his career 128
Tanner, L., Provost of Belturbet, 1772 ... 55
Tate, extent of, 207, 326, 335
Taylor, Brockhill, of Ballyhaise, M.P., 1634-9 39
—— Th., M.P. Belturbet, 1703-13 ... 99, 108
Teate, Rev. Faithful of Bally-..... haise, ill-used... 25
Teampull Ceallaigh v. Kelly's Church ....
Termon Lands in Cavan, 1590 ... **216**
Tighe, E., M.P., Belturbet Borough 1763-8 99
—— R., M.P., Belturbet Borough 1703-13 ... 99
Tithes impropriate ? ... 140
—— in Kilmore, how distributed 322
Tokens issued in County Cavan **327**
Tonnymore crannoge 241
Townsend, Th., M.P. Belturbet, 1798-1800 96, 99
Trinity Abbey, when founded 192
—— Island surrenders 1653 ... 261
Tuaim Drecon, its location ... 63
—— an ancient Irish University 350
Tuath, extent of a 335
Tullaghan Cross 64
Tullyhaw Scribe of 1487 ... 347
—— Cantred, the partimony of the MacGaurans 288
Tullymongan Castle captured 1495 121

Urney Abbey, no record of ...246
—— original See of Kilmore ? ... 171
Urns, Cinerary, found in Cavan 164

Vice-Regal Lodge built by Clements 106
Virginia : founded, **21,** 23, 301, 316
—— its slow progress ... 23, 313
—— passed over as a Borough ... 318
—— in 1611, its wooden houses 316
—— in 1641 25, 309
—— in 1745 ... 27
—— in 1831 ... 320
—— church erected 1816, burnt down, 32, 322
—— scenery around it ... 322

Waldron, Sir R., builds Farnham Castle ... 256
Warburton, John, M.P. Belturbet 1692-1703 ... 39
War, the Great of 1390 251
Weston, the Rt. Hon. H., M.P. Cavan Borough 98
Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore ... 348
Wexford Historical Society ... 223
Whit Sunday cautions 184
Wills : 1699 Th. Philips' Cavan town, 349; 1715 Th. Cole's 348 ; 1741, Rev. H. Riley's of Ballintemple, 348 ; 1750, Ch. Coote's of Cootehill, 101 ; etc.
Wirral, Sir H., M.P. Belturbet, 1613 ... 39, 46
Wolsely, Brigadier, wins Battle of Cavan ... 56
Wooden Ploughs in Cavan, etc. 193
Woodward, Col., and his mansion 28
Worsopp, Th., M.P. Belturbet 1661-2 39

Young, Sir W., of Bailieborough 44

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